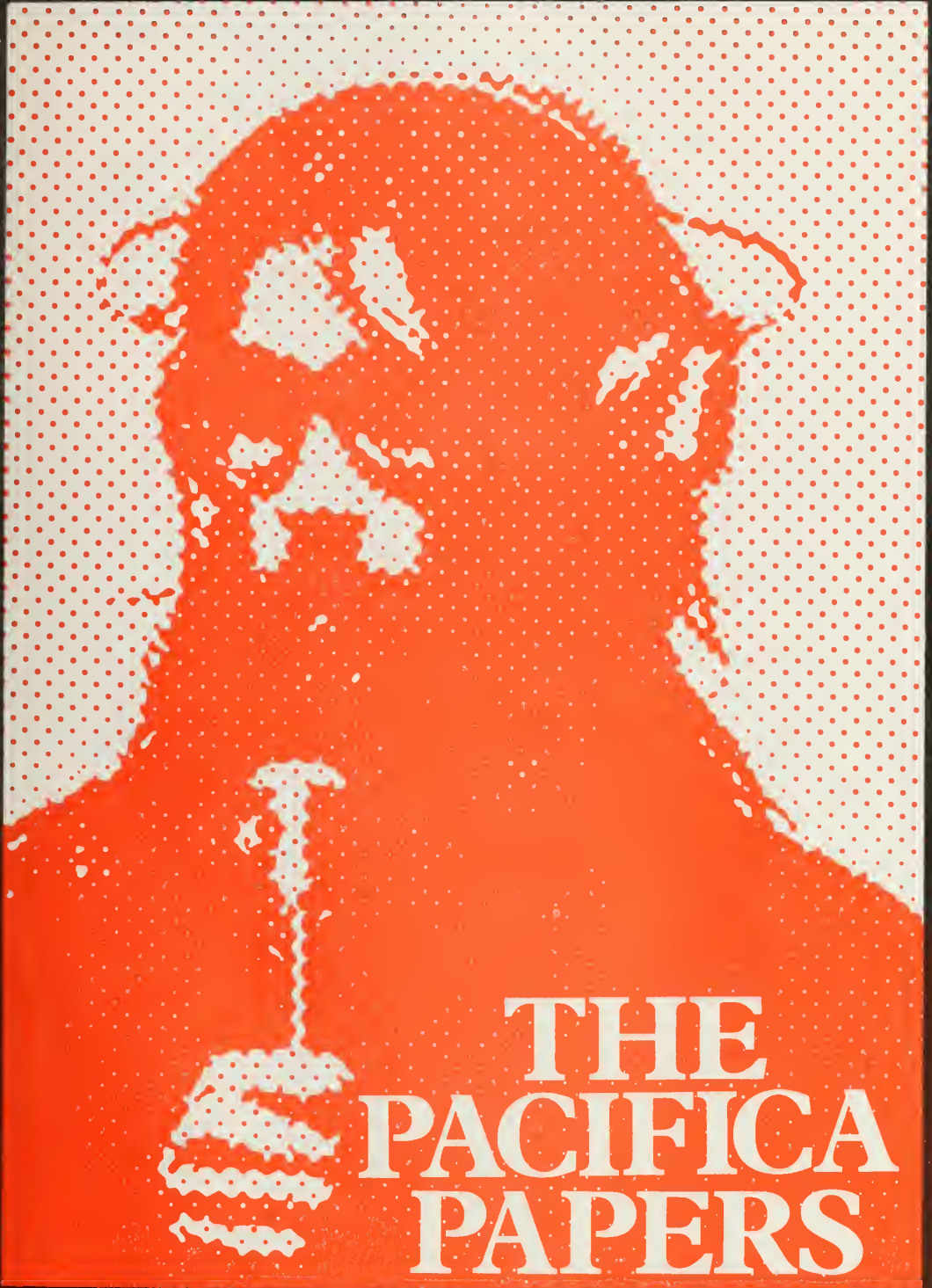


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FOLIO

FEBRUARY 1972



THE
PACIFICA
PAPERS

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KPFA FOLIO

February 1972

KPFA FM 94 and KPFB FM 89.3
Listener-Sponsored Pacifica Radio
2207 Shattuck Avenue
Berkeley, California 94704
(415) 848-6767 and 981-7730

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Subscriptions are \$24 a year, \$12 for students, and retired and unemployed people.

KPFA broadcasts twenty-four hours a day, seven days a week (except for the first Saturday of each month when the transmitter is shut down for maintenance) with a power of 59,000 watts at 94.1 MHz. KPFB broadcasts simultaneously with KPFA at a power of 150 watts to areas of Berkeley which do not receive KPFA.

KPFA is owned and operated by the Pacifica Foundation, which also owns and operates stations WBAI FM 99.5 in New York, KPFK FM 90.7 in Los Angeles, and KPFT FM 90 in Houston. Pacifica Foundation was established in 1946 and is incorporated under the laws of the State of California.

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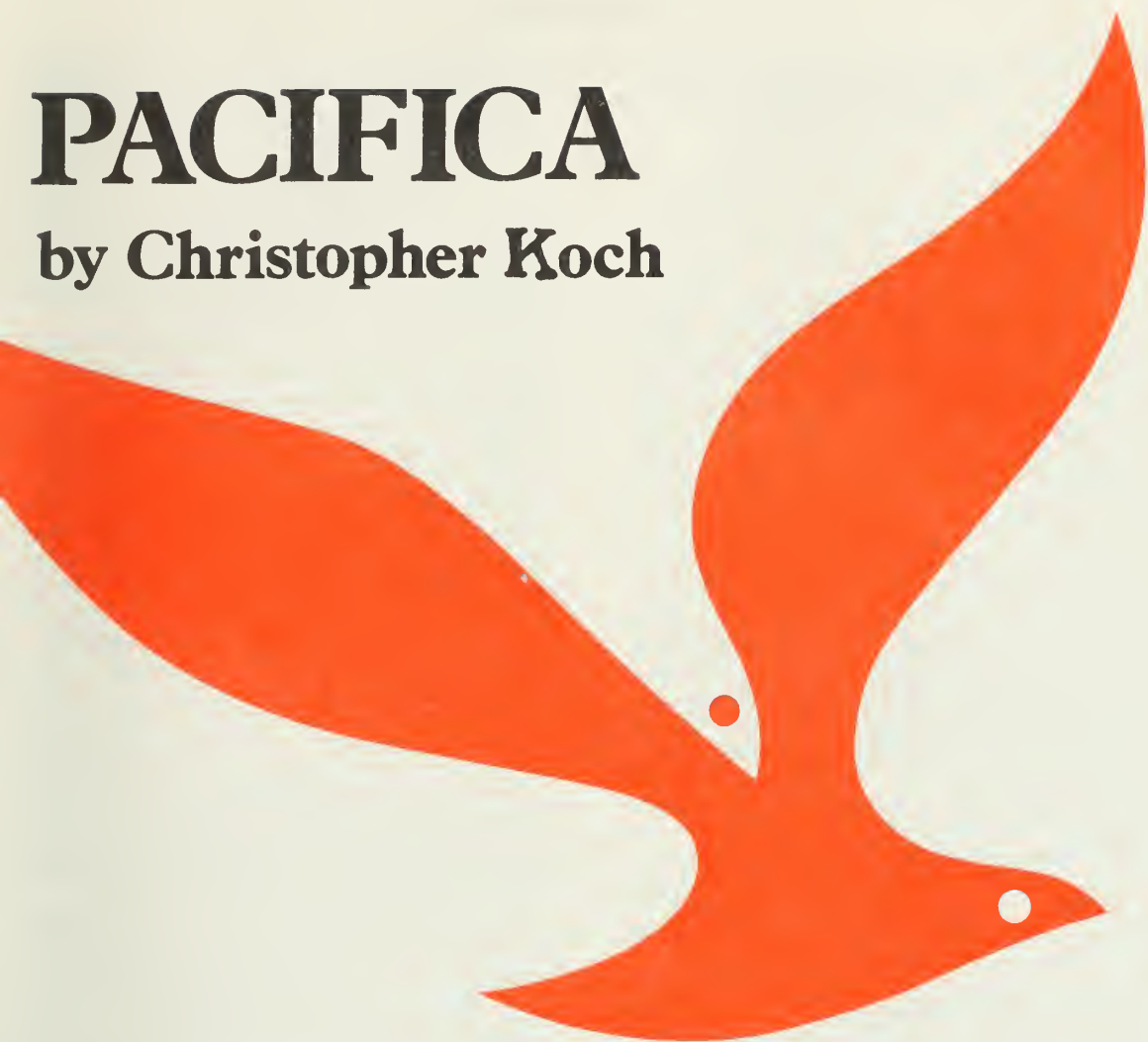
- MEDIAPOLY
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If we weren't us, KPFA is the kind of outfit we would probably do a documentary about. In a sense we do that anyway, or at least try to by keeping the lines of communication open between the station and the subscriber. Thus this 64-page issue about ourselves. Perhaps more than you wanted to know but probably less than we should have told.

We tried to answer as many questions as we thought you might have. We tried to document the truly oppressive financial situation to sustain our credibility. We tried to give you a partial glimpse of the people behind the microphones as well as the people behind the scenes. We also tried to give you a summary of our twenty-two year history. We didn't, however, attempt to cover the ever-present question of why the FOLIO is sometimes late; it would take an issue all it's own with heavy leanings toward religion and the postal service. We did have a lot of fun lapsing into this retrospective and we hope it provides some answers.

PACIFICA

by Christopher Koch



"In radio broadcasting operations to encourage and provide outlets for the creative skills and energies of the community; to conduct classes and workshops in the writing and producing of drama; to establish awards and scholarships for creative writing; to offer performance facilities to amateur instrumentalists, choral groups, orchestral groups and music students; and to promote and aid other creative activities which will serve the cultural welfare of the community.

"... to engage in any activity that shall contribute to a lasting understanding between nations and between individuals of all nations, races, creeds and colors; to gather and disseminate information of the cause of conflict between any and all of such groups; and through any and all means compatible with the purposes of this corporation, to promote the study of political and economic problems and of the causes of religious, philosophical and racial antagonisms."

"... to promote the full distribution of public information; to obtain access to sources of news not commonly brought together in the same medium; and to employ such varied sources in the public presentation of accurate, objective, comprehensive news on all matters affecting the community."

—From Pacifica Foundation's Articles of Incorporation.

Pacifica is not really an underground communications medium. Rather, it is a compromise between an institution of counter culture and of the Establishment. Although it has been used as a vehicle by the radical movement, its financial support comes largely from the upper-middle classes. Although it regularly broadcasts revolutionary agitation and propaganda, it must also seek out the arguments of the extreme right.

Pacifica has attacked the most powerful government agencies in the United States; it has also cowered before one of the weakest. It has preached brotherly understanding while itself being torn apart by feuds so bitter that staff members have seriously accused each other of being witches and mailed live scorpions to their colleagues.

Some of America's most creative and progressive people have passed through Pacifica as employees. Almost any American of public standing has at one time or another broadcast over a Pacifica station, many of them on a regular basis. Yet when one meets former Pacifica broadcasters, one discovers veins of bitterness against the Foundation that run so deeply they seem never to be forgotten.

Pacifica is an anomaly of American culture that seems to exist despite itself. But it offers almost the only instance in America of a broadcasting channel bas-

ed on principles diametrically opposed to those of the commercial Establishment. As such, it offers an object lesson in the limitations and potentials of underground radio and television.

* * *

According to the United States Constitution, expression ought to be absolutely free and uncensored. Broadcasting, however, even ideally, presents special problems. The technology of electronic transmission physically limits the number of available broadcasting channels.

Shortly after the introduction of radio in the United States, it became clear that left to their own devices, American broadcasters would create chaos. In some areas of the country, for instance, one station's signal completely overlapped another's. To resolve the situation Congress enacted laws to establish minimal federal control. Under the theory finally evolved, the public owns its airwaves and leases them for extended periods of time to private companies. The Federal Communications Commission, which is vested with the responsibility grants licenses to broadcasters on the basis of their ability and intention to program in "the public interest, convenience and necessity." The phrase is subject to broad interpretations, but in practice the FCC never has denied a license to an existing company solely on the basis of its programming.

The result has been an immensely powerful broadcasting industry with an income of billions of dollars a year, offering watered-down entertainment, cautious and uncontroversial public affairs programs and incessant commercials—pitches to buy overpriced, unnecessary commodities. Broadcasting has become the advertiser's key medium, and advertising is the essential ingredient in an economy increasingly dependent on personal consumption.

Newton Minow, a former Chairman of the FCC, once described all this as "a vast wasteland."

Pacifica has tried to do more, and as a result, it has been one of the few broadcasting organizations in the country to have its programming regularly reviewed by various branches of the federal government.

Because an institution's rhetoric, like an individual's, becomes conviction or pretention when it confronts real opposition, I want to begin with Pacifica's most serious crisis.

[CONFRONTATION]

On December 17, 1962, the Washington attorney for Pacifica's three FM stations received a subpoena to appear before one of Congress' most notorious anti-communist committees, the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, chaired by Mississippi's equally notorious Jim Eastland. Siss, as we appropriately abbreviated it, was apparently unaware that as the Foundation's attorney, Harry Plotkin was immune from testimony.

On the following day, two members of Pacifica's board of directors living in Berkeley received telegrams announcing that subpoenas (which they had never received) were being postponed. It was in this farcical way that the first sustained attack on Pacifica began.

Within a couple of weeks, Dr. Peter Odegard, another member of the board (and formerly an Assistant Treasurer of the United States and a President of Reed College), and Mrs. Dorothy Healy, Chairman of the South California Communist Party, had also received subpoenas.

Mrs. Healy had a fifteen-minute, bi-weekly commentary on Pacifica KPFK in Los Angeles. Trevor Thomas, who as the Foundation's acting President, called Siss' chief counsel, Jay Sourwine, and asked him the purpose of the hearings. Sourwine replied that the committee wanted to find out how it was possible for a member of the Communist Party to broadcast on an American radio station. Thomas explained that Mrs. Healy was one of about twenty different commentators who, between them, covered the political spectrum from the extreme right to the left. He added that in line with Pacifica's policies and FCC rulings — Mrs. Healy was identified as a communist. The next day, Mr. Thomas received a subpoena, too.

By the time the hearings actually convened on January 10, subpoenas had also been served on Mr. Jerome Shore, who had been executive vice president of the Foundation, dealing with administrative matters, for about six months, on Mr. Joseph Binns, Station Manager of Pacifica WBAI in New York City for two weeks, and on Mrs. Pauline Shindler, a subscriber to the Los Angeles station.

Before the hearings convened, the Foundation notified Siss and the press that as a public institution its records were open for examination; its programs could be heard by anyone, and most were scheduled in a program guide. Thomas objected to the coercive subpoenas and once again asked for some kind of an explanation. None was forthcoming from Washington, however.

Pacifica then requested that the hearings be held in public, and even contemplated broadcasting them live, in the belief that all relevant information ought to be made publicly available. Despite the support of both California Senators, Clair Engle and Thomas Kuchel, Siss replied that its rules forbade an open hearing.

The Foundation finally requested that transcripts of the hearings be made available immediately following Pacifica's appearances. The committee replied that it would issue, when it chose to do so, those portions of the testimony that it deemed necessary and important.

On January 10, when the hearings began, Senator Dodd issued a seven-page statement which each witness was required to read before testifying. The statement dealt with possible communist infiltration of American communications media and referred to previous committee studies. It then continued:

"Recently, there have come to the attention of the committee reports of possible communist infiltration or penetration of an important radio chain, the stations of the Pacifica Foundation. We are here today to seek information, from witnesses whom we believe to be in a position to supply it, respecting facts which may

shed light on the question of how much substance there may have been to these reports. This is our major objective."

[SPECIAL AGENT JACK LEVINE]

Pacifica had broadcast commentaries by members of the Communist Party since it first went on the air in 1949. What, then, had provoked Senator Dodd?

Although no causal relationship ever can be proved, it seems no accident that a couple of months before Siss' subpoenas, we had broadcast the first sustained attack on the FBI and its Director, J. Edgar Hoover, ever presented by American radio or television. Indeed, at the time the program went on the air, it was one of the few attacks on the FBI available in any form. Senator Dodd, who was responsible for the hearings, is a personal friend of Mr. Hoover and a former colleague.

It all began on October 10, 1962, when one of my colleagues, Dick Elman, called me into his office in the midst of a particularly hectic afternoon and introduced me to a tall, clean-cut young man, "Special Agent Jack Levine, Federal Bureau of Investigation." Before I could wince, Levine smiled and said in a characteristically hesitant, sincere voice, "No, no. Former Special Agent."

I was acting station manager of WBAI at the time and thus ultimately responsible for programming policy. But this broadcast seemed sufficiently important to call our new executive vice president on the west coast, "We need this program like a hole in the head," Shore groaned, but nobody doubted for a moment that it ought to be aired.

Dick and I played the tape for Ephraim London, a prominent New York civil liberties lawyer who advised us that it was in no way libelous or slanderous, and that in his opinion Levine made a more credible witness than 90 per cent of the people he had seen testify under oath. We prepared transcripts of the tape and mailed them to the FBI and Justice Department for comment. They refused to make any public statement for broadcast, but in a series of telephone conversations that followed they did everything possible to cast aspersions on Levine's character and integrity. None of their charges, however, could be substantiated.

[ATTACK ON THE FBI]

Pressure on us mounted during the week before broadcast. The Justice Department continued to advise us that the broadcast would not be in the public interest. Dick and I were taken out for drinks by reporters we had never met from the AP and other networks who urged us to cancel the program because "they'll close you down." Our Folio editor received a call from a labor leader in Washington, D.C., who had "inside information:" that everyone at the station would be arrested within minutes of air-time. We received several bomb threats. Even I.F. Stone, who first called to congratulate me on the broadcast, called back an hour before air-

time to "disassociate" himself from the broadcast and inform me that a better case against the FBI could be made by a careful reading of the congressional record.

Meanwhile, KPFA tracked down another former agent, William Turner, later an editor at **Ramparts**. In a subsequent broadcast Turner confirmed many of Levine's charges. We also scheduled a panel discussion of well-known lawyers to discuss the implications of Levine's charges live after the tape.

The story that Levine told was carried in newspapers throughout the country. Once Pacifica had broken it, the rest of the press was willing to use it, and several papers—The New York Times, for instance—editorialized about it. Later Fred Cook opened his study of the FBI with lengthy excerpts from the program. Meantime, we had to pay for it.

[1963]

By 1963, however, when the Senate investigation began, the Foundation had become a fairly secure part of the American scene, and it could no longer count on relative obscurity to protect itself. The Levine broadcast made clear that when Pacifica raised a sufficiently important issue dramatically enough, the nation would have to listen.

Its three stations, broadcasting in three major population centers (the San Francisco Bay area, Los Angeles, and New York City), had a base of thirty thousand subscribers and an income of close to three-quarters of a million dollars. We had a prime-time audience of one to two million people. The only key question was how the Foundation would respond.

The function and purpose of congressional anti-communist investigating committees like Siss had been made clear during the 1950s, the era of virulent McCarthyism. The power of domestic communism had never posed a serious threat to American institutions, and those who helped mount McCarthy's anti-communist drive were interested in discrediting radicals and liberals of all kinds. The key word there is 'discrediting'. Legally speaking, congressional committees are authorized to hold hearings to gather information necessary to enact legislation. But as the records of Siss, HUAC (The House Committee on Un-American Activities) and their various local equivalents make clear, they never served any serious legislative function. Instead, they subpoenaed witnesses, forced them to testify about their beliefs and then publicized their testimony in a context that made them appear to be subversive. They hounded men out of public life—and many out of private life as well.

By the time the Pacifica hearings were held, most informed Americans recognized this, and neither Siss nor HUAC could even hold public hearings outside of Washington without encountering massive counter demonstrations (the last time HUAC had come to San Francisco, the counter demonstrations had been so effective that the city government announced it would no longer make its facilities available to them). Pacifica had played a key role in publicizing the real intent of Siss and HUAC by broadcasting its hearings and making its airwaves available to their opponents.

THE PACIFICA PAPERS

By 1963 it was clear that no self-respecting American could co-operate with Siss or HUAC, because they controlled the tenor and substance of the investigations. They precluded the possibility of witnesses testifying fully about themselves and their beliefs by forbidding them from reading statements, being cross-examined by their attorneys or having access to testimony made against them. And when their testimony was finally released, it often appeared in a distorted form modified to meet the committee's own requirements.

[THE RIGHT OF THE PEOPLE]

I do not intend to construct a legal brief here, but simply to point out that there were solid legal and moral grounds on which to resist Siss. Furthermore, Pacifica had long been a symbol of such resistance in the eyes of its staff and listeners. Its broadcasting policies themselves insisted on absolutely unequivocal freedom of speech: Pacifica's airwaves had always been available for every political opinion from the American Nazi Party to the remnants of the IWW. Alexander Mielkejohn, perhaps America's most famous advocate of an absolute position on the First, has helped draft Pacifica's constitution. And finally, we were in a unique position to establish a principle of the right of non-co-operation. For as a demonstrably 'liberal' institution, with no political programs of its own, our record was literally unimpeachable.

As for any investigation into Pacifica's broadcasting policies, Justice William O. Douglas seemed to cover that when he wrote "The Right of the People": "A committee could not force newspapers to explain or justify their editorial policies. That would amount to harassment for political, social, or economic views, which the First Amendment places beyond the power of government."

[THE FOUNDATION]

It was therefore a shock to staff and listeners when the Foundation announced that despite its doubts about the legitimacy of the hearings and its belief that they might constitute a threat to freedom of speech, it would co-operate with Siss. The decision was made somewhat precipitously when, in the midst of discussing its appropriate response, a San Francisco newspaper unexpectedly broke the story. Although the Foundation itself agreed to co-operate, it also announced that it would:

"... also respect the rights of an individual compelled to speak under subpoena to respond to purely personal questions in the light of his own conscience and understanding of his constitutional rights."

Pacifica's decision was not dictated by policy but by fear. Although the Levine broadcast and his prognostications about possible investigation had generated support from Pacifica's listeners, the Foundation's leadership feared that it could not sustain the cost of the lengthy legal battle which might follow non-co-opera-

tion. Yet, as the staff—or anyone else close to Pacifica's supporters—understood, that fear was groundless. It was precisely Pacifica's non-co-operation, its resistance, that would have ensured vast public support. In 1963 Americans were looking for an unequivocal civil liberties cause to mount a final attack on McCarthyism and we were—for a moment—in a position to provide that cause. Thus the board's unwillingness to accept the challenge despite its staff's advice, deepened a growing division between the board—those vested with ownership and overall policy—and those who actually produced the programs.

[THE STAFF]

Its performance before the committee deepened that split. Under committee rules, testimony itself could not be publicly released without a majority vote of committee. Finally, in July, it was printed and distributed without negative conclusions, without any recommendations and without proposals for legislation. Although the printed transcript had been changed slightly to emphasize different points and restructure some series of questions, its thrust was clear. As we had anticipated, the committee precluded a serious discussion of Pacifica's policies and concentrated on 'exposing' those program participants who had left-wing contacts. (There were humorous aspects as well: the committee was concerned, for example, with music tapes that we had received from Radio Moscow). It also revealed that Jerry Shore denied having been a communist for the last nine years, but refused to answer questions about his family or friends prior to that time (he was not permitted to answer questions only about himself prior to that time, under committee rules). Siss had been unable to unearth a single damaging revelation.

[THE SPLIT]

The damage that HUAC and Siss hearings do is frequently internal; by preying on fear and weakness, they eat at an institution's inner resources and sap the strength of the root. If Pacifica seemed publicly strong, we all knew that internally it was seriously ill. The bitterness between the board and its staff was vitriolic. The fund raising potential of an open confrontation on a clear-cut free speech issue had been missed. After nine months of pressure we were demoralized and tired, still working under the insecurity of inadequate funds, long hours, and now with growing doubts about Pacifica's relevance and importance.

In September, almost a year after the Levine broadcast, the National Board met with key personnel from the three stations to discuss overall policy. It was an acrimonious and depressing meeting that left the Foundation's purposes and functions far from clear.

* * *

Then on October 7, 1962, Pacifica received a letter from Ben Waple, Secretary of the FCC. "Questions have been raised concerning possible communist affiliations in connection with Pacifica's principals," it began, and went on to request non-communist affidavits from our directors, officers, and general managers within thirty days. Each of them was asked to state under oath whether or not he had been a member of the Communist Party and if so during what period of his life.

[THE FCC]

The request came when all three broadcasting licenses Pacifica then held were pending. KPFA in Berkeley had been licensed in 1949, but had been due for renewal since December 1, 1962. The FCC had never fully licensed KPFA which went on the air in 1959; it was operating under a 'construction permit and program test authority'. So was WBAI, although it had been licensed under its previous owner. Operating without a license is not unusual, because the FCC's small appropriations and vast backlog of work make it less than efficient. But in Pacifica's case the delay was undoubtedly due to our controversial programming. In any event, the FCC told us that it would not act on our licenses until Siss finished its investigation. Although FCC Chairman Minow told Pacifica and reporters that there was no connection between its delay and the substance of those hearings, they both asked similar questions.

Once again, the Foundation bitterly debated its response. The staff urged it to refuse. At the request of WBAI the ACLU (American Civil Liberties Union) looked into the legal aspects, and argued that we could make a good legal case for non-compliance.

The board, however, still anxious to avoid a confrontation, prepared a statement for the FCC refusing to file such affidavits but continuing a positive statement of support for the constitution. It was an acceptable compromise for the Foundation, but not for the FCC. It then asked to confer privately with two members of the board and the Executive Vice-President, Jerry Shore. Shore had refused to discuss his political beliefs (prior to nine years ago) in front of Siss, one board member had admitted brief membership of the Communist Party, and the third was willing to do so. Although Pacifica never admitted it publicly, the "private conversations" were to be on the record and under oath, and the principal question was going to be "Are you now or have you ever been a member of the Communist Party?"

By this time E. William Henry was Chairman of the FCC, and he made clear at a meeting with Pacifica that if the three co-operated, our licenses would be forthcoming on January 8 or 15.

Pacifica's board met again on December 14. It knew that if the FCC did not obtain sworn statements of loyalty from the three people in question, our licenses would be designated for hearing, with possible revocation as the result. While it was never stated openly at that meeting, it was clear that two of the three were willing to testify. Shore was not, partly on principle, and partly because such testimony could set him up for a

full inquiry into his friends and associations prior to 1952. It was also clear, however, that if Shore resigned, our licenses would be granted just as though he had testified.

[THE LICENSE]

Once again a majority of the board sought for the compromise. The two station managers there present as advisors urged them to reject the FCC's request as an unwarranted invasion of the Foundation's privacy; a minority asked Shore to resign. After an acrimonious meeting the board finally issued a statement which left the responsibility to each individual's conscience. Although it affirmed its "support for any such person who refuses to answer such questions," it qualified that support by adding that "it will proceed as necessary to try to preserve its broadcasting licenses."

The language was equivocal because the board was equivocating. It wanted above all else to avoid the confrontation. Sensing that, and sensing the doubtful nature of the support he was likely to get, Shore resigned at that meeting. No one asked him to stay.

On January 22—a bit behind schedule—Pacifica received its licenses from the FCC.

[A COSTLY VICTORY]

It was a more costly victory than many realized. When Shore resigned, Fred Haines, Station Manager of KPFA in Los Angeles, and Dick Elman, who did the Levine broadcast with me, left, too. Those of us who remained were doubtful about staying for long. We knew that our program policies were always likely to put our licenses in jeopardy; now it seemed that if they did so those staff members whose backgrounds made them vulnerable would be abandoned.

[A UNION]

For those reasons—and others I shall go into later—movements started at all three stations to unionize. The issues seemed to be job security and the preservation of our programming policies. The solution turned out to be chimerical, but the problem was real enough.

On January 7, the staff at KPFA in Berkeley voted to join NABET (The National Association of Broadcasting Employees and Technicians). On January 13, Elsa Knight Thompson, the outspoken Public Affairs Director of KPFA (and Pacifica's best-known programmer who had been with the Foundation since 1959), was fired. Elsa had led staff opposition to the board on both the Siss and FCC struggles and had also supported unionization. After preliminary negotiations, Acting President Trevor Thomas delayed the inevitable strike until after the licenses were granted. The staff

walked out on March 23. Thomas told the press that it was part of a larger fight 'which has torn Pacifica apart for a year and a half.' It was, he continued part of the 'coercion from the left' which aimed at tying KPFA to a rigid 'kind of orthodoxy'.

Although KPFA's strike was finally ended and Elsa Knight Thompson was reinstated, the fear of the left persisted for some time to come. KPFA in Los Angeles unionized. Staff members gradually drifted away. About a year later I went to North Vietnam and did a

series of broadcasts for WBAI. The Station Manager of WBAI felt they were biased, and backed by the board, insisted on a number of changes in my script. I made some but refused to make others, and when they took the programs off the air I resigned. Most of the staff that worked under me left, too. Within six months subscriptions at WBAI dropped from a high of twelve thousand to only slightly more than seven thousand. It was the end of an era.

HISTORY and DEVELOPMENT



LEWIS HILL : FOUNDER AND CHAIRMAN 1946-1954, FIRST PRESIDENT 1954-1957

Pacifica was the brain-child of a journalist and poet named Lewis Hill who, as he is recalled by those who knew him, had that vision and magnetism we call charisma. Hill was a pacifist and, like many young people of today, he acted on his principles. He spent part of World War II in a camp for Conscientious Objectors. Also like young people of today, Hill's pacifism was not simply a way of finding inner peace, but a passionate commitment to involve himself in society in order to change it.

Although Hill admired the work of the peace movement, he was convinced that 'the prevention of war depends in part upon an overwhelming public sentiment

against it.' And that sentiment could only be generated by controlling or influencing the various media of mass communications. "The major job for those determined to see a pacific world in our time is to enter the region close to home, to speak through newspapers, on the street and over radio stations—in short, to identify the principles of world understanding where they have direct import in familiar situations."

Hill found the attempt to use existing facilities frustrating. The commercial responsibility of mass media in the United States and its close identification with the power elite hardly attracted it to principles of world understanding. In 1946 Hill was working as a

White House and Senate correspondent for a Washington radio station, but his attempts to do the kind of reporting he considered essential were frustrated. Finally, when he was asked to read a news report that he knew from first-hand experience to be untrue, he resigned and headed for California to create his own radio system. As he put it, in the first prospectus for Pacifica written in July 1946, "the groups devoted to war prevention are still without any means of widespread communication needed to engender such sentiment." From its inception therefore, Pacifica was intended for pacifist propaganda.

Hill spent the next three years drawing together a staff of professional broadcasters, raising money, and hammering out a structure and broadcasting policy.

He and his associates discussed several alternatives for financing the station. Total reliance on advertising was an anathema, but they considered several forms of limited advertising. One such idea (which is still being proposed today) was that the radio station could accept advertisements like a newspaper: instead of sponsoring specific programs, an advertiser could place an ad for a certain time of the day. The problem was that radio's pre-programmed format (news at 6 p.m., a concert at 7 p.m., etc.) makes time ads program ads anyway.

And however one cuts it, he who pays the piper calls the tune.

Furthermore, the staff and function of any commercial station are split between programming and commercial needs. Hill believed that the ad salesmen and account executives would always drain programming talent. He feared that in the struggles for growth and development, the commercial needs of the station would take precedence over its programming needs. In any event, as the experience of small magazines devoted to culture, serious political discussions and experimental literature made clear, commercial advertisers could not be expected to be sufficiently interested in Pacifica's programs to support them.

Hill also rejected city, state, or federal government sponsorship, because he doubted their willingness to let the station function independently. Similarly, Pacifica could not rely on a handful of wealthy patrons or large foundations. A system was needed that insured a broad base of support from the station's listening audience

[LISTENER SUPPORT]

Hill finally adopted Gandhi's idea that all public institutions should be supported voluntarily by those who benefit from them. Such a voluntary association established a vital relationship between the broadcaster and the listener, whereby the listener could express his involvement directly—or withdraw it if the broadcaster became unresponsive to his needs. On the other hand he did not want Pacifica to be an exclusive system like a pay TV, in which the signal is scrambled and only available to subscribers, because that would limit its educational power and restrict it to the already committed.

Pacifica had to be available to the entire community, supported by those who recognized its community importance.

[CONTROL]

Although Hill was constructing a community service station, he never conceived of its being under the control of the community. To preserve Pacifica as the instrument of peace, the ownership and control of the Foundation were put in the hands of a self-perpetuating board of directors, and an executive membership was established to deal with day-to-day problems. Hill also feared that a listener co-operative station would become a battleground for contending ideologies, with each new majority in the co-operative insisting on a new program orientation. At least one such experiment, in Washington, D.C., after the war, seemed to substantiate his fears: the political strife quickly tore the station apart.

Hill's commitment to peace demanded a commitment to humanity—to art, culture and the significance of human relationships. He did not want Pacifica to be proselytizing but representative of the best that men could do. Thus it had to be a channel for the serious artistic work of the community.

Trying to explain the lack of artistic excellence on commercial radio, Hill argued:

"... to get any real art or any significant communication one must rely entirely on individuals, and must resign oneself to accept not only their uniqueness but the possibility that the individual may at any time fail. By suppressing the individual, the unique, the industry reduces the risk of failure (abnormality) and assures itself a standard product for mass consumption."

On Pacifica, by contrast: "... we assign to the participating individual the responsibility, artistic integrity, freedom of expression, and the like, which in conventional radio are normally denied him."

Thus both the maintenance of excellence in broadcasting, and his commitment to peace, brought Hill to an absolute position on the First Amendment: Pacifica had to insist on complete freedom of speech for the individual.

* * *

Hill was also concerned with another weakness of commercial broadcasting, the separation of programming from general station policy and the alienation of the creative staff from those who make that policy. To prevent that from happening in Pacifica, Hill argued: "... the people who actually do the broadcasting should also be responsible for what and why they broadcast. In short, they must control the policy which determines their actions."

Thus Pacifica's self-perpetuating board of directors and executive membership would consist of those who, in the words of the first articles of incorporation, showed "continuous active participation in the foundation." In practice, that originally meant those who worked for the station.

Pacifica decided to apply to the Federal Communications Commission for an FM (frequency modulation) transmitting license rather than an AM (amplitude modulation) license, because FM offers greater clarity of reception, enables higher fidelity sound reproductions, rejects interference from other stations and is static-free. Thus it was ideal for serious music which would make up a large part of Pacifica's programming. Furthermore, in 1949, FM was the fastest-growing phenomenon in broadcasting. Although there were only a limited number of FM sets in use (ten thousand in Pacifica's first broadcast area), everyone predicted that FM would be the next mass-communications wave. AM, on the other hand, could reach far more people. What finally tipped the scales was the availability of an FM channel. Hill hoped that Pacifica would eventually expand to AM, but it was one battle the Foundation never won, and today it would be prohibitively expensive to purchase an AM transmitter and secure a license. FM offers the only alternative for listener sponsorship.

Hill and his associates raised \$20,000, and the FCC granted them a license to begin broadcasting on a 250-watt transmitter in Berkeley. At 3 p.m. on April 15, 1949, Lew Hill stepped to a microphone and announced: "This is KPFA, listener-sponsored radio in Berkeley."

[LISTENER RESPONSE]

The initial response to the station was modest but encouraging. The broadcasting industry and the press were sympathetic to the idea and the performance, but they were skeptical about Pacifica's long-range prospects. Eleanor McKinney, who worked closely with Hill, later wrote of those days:

"Visitors dropped in to 'see for themselves' where such extraordinary radio programs came from . . . They enjoyed the absence of radio's conventions, hearing an announcer casually say, 'The tape just got tangled up' or 'The background music you hear is leaking from the other studio where they're rehearsing the next program' . . . There were no fanfares, no themes, no organ music or strings. Duration of programs was designed to fulfill natural content—not to be chopped off in regular segments by the stopwatch. So that programs could begin at scheduled times, spaces between the flexible endings were filled with bits of prose or poetry, or simply by silence when the mood or impact would have been jarred by a sudden shift to another subject."

[PROGRAMMING]

Over six hundred different program participants in drama and literature, public affairs, music and children's programs took part in KPFA's broadcasting in the next five months. They volunteered their services. Listeners, too, who dropped into the station, found themselves commissioned to type letters, write continuity and stuff envelopes, and a large volunteer staff soon sprung up next to the paid professional one. By such expedients KPFA kept its operating budget at about \$4,000 a month. It broadcast from 3 p.m. to 10:30 or so at night (depending on when the last program seemed to end), and 40 per cent of the broadcasting was live.

Summarizing programming after five months, Hill referred to its success "in obtaining a large and intensely interested audience for the public affairs broadcasts on controversial subjects—war and peace, race relations, economic democracy—which are the central expression of Pacifica Foundation's concern." The report concluded that "The 'radical' statement of human and societal relations can be effective on radio if placed in a context of general programming which is otherwise valuable to the listeners."

[FINANCE]

KPFA was not yet able, however, to raise \$4,000 a month consistently. After fifteen months on the air, with only 270 subscribers, it was forced to suspend broadcasting to devote full time to fund-raising. The exhausted staff—who were all paid the same, regardless of their position—hadn't received a salary for weeks and many had to leave to find regular employment elsewhere to support their families.

When Hill announced that KPFA was suspending broadcasting, listeners suggested that a public meeting be held. Eleanor McKinney recalls that "To the discouraged staff it was an overwhelming experience to see the meeting-place crowded with listeners." A working fund of \$2,300 was raised immediately, and a number of fund-raising committees were formed. Nine months later one thousand subscribers had voluntarily contributed funds to the silent station, and KPFA was able to resume with a more powerful transmitter. A few months later, Lew Hill finished negotiations for a \$150,000 grant from the Fund for Adult Education, a branch of the Ford Foundation, to test the theory of listener-sponsored broadcasting.

Hill never conceived of Pacifica as one small station in one limited community: the Ford grant gave him a chance to test a theory that he wanted to apply elsewhere. Later, in notes for an evaluation of the project written in 1957, he projected that at least eleven metropolitan areas with a combined audience of more than fifty million people could support a listener-sponsored station.

"Broadcasting year-in year-out in the greatest metropolitan centers in the nation, their specialized program content could not fail to affect public thought and taste, and it is no great extension of our hypothesis to envision these stations as a major factor in American cultural development."

Hill's projection was based on the theory that at least 2 per cent of any potential audience would subscribe "as long as the service rendered was uniquely valuable to a listener who could not elsewhere obtain it." No Pacifica station has ever achieved that level of support, however.

KPFA reached a new kind of maturity during the Ford grant. Newspapers and magazines that had doubted the viability of listener-support began to pay increasing attention to KPFA's programming as the station constantly innovated with live concerts of new composers' works, readings and discussions with new poets, novelists, political thinkers and activists. Even the State Department began sending foreign dignitaries to tour the station.

Persistent problems remained, however. Pacifica's dynamic program policy attracted some strong and creative people; but the Foundation never really maintained a dynamic administrative formula within which such people could work successfully. And so, there was always a crisis—a major clash of personalities, a dispute over the purpose and function of the Foundation, a key dismissal or resignation. And then hours were spent in whispered conversations at the local bar or coffee-shop, or late into the evening in messy offices, among used cups of coffee and the stale smell of cigarettes.

[1957]

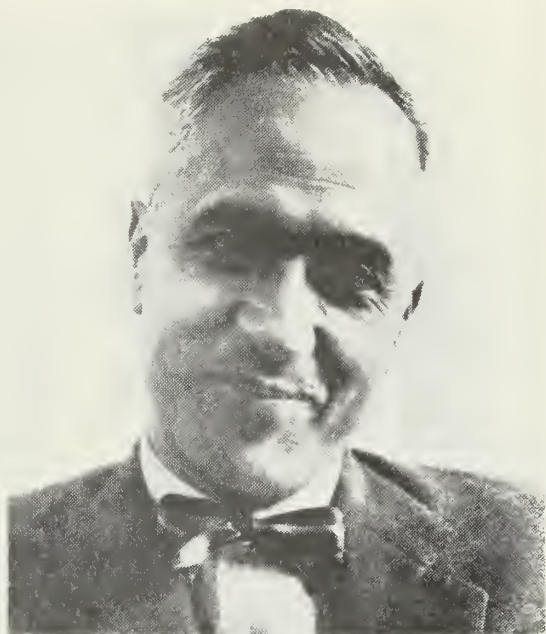
As we have seen, Hill wanted the broadcasting staff to control the station. In 1953, however, that staff voted Hill and his closest associates out of office. For a year the station was operated by an anti-Hill faction, then another coup brought Hill back and his opponents all walked out. The issues are no longer clear, but the chaos damaged the station's reputation, and Hill convinced the board that staff members could not be objective about their work conditions and salaries. To create more stability, non-staff members were invited to take part in the administration and control of the station. Staff participation on the executive membership was limited to one-third, and its representation on the board of directors became token. Although Hill intended to maintain the homogeneity of the controlling group and the broadcasters, it was a step in the direction of precisely that kind of alienation between those who make policy and those who are expected to carry it out that Pacifica was set up to avoid.

Although by 1957 Pacifica seemed an assured part of the Bay Area's cultural scene, money remained tight and all the pressures that accompany poverty played havoc with it. Furthermore, the introduction of television had cut the heart out of the FM market (production of FM sets dropped from 1.4 million in 1949 to 130,000 per year in 1954), and although KPFA tried to market them itself, it was hardly a successful entrepreneur. Hill was bitter and disappointed. Shortly after he completed the report to the Fund for the Republic—before it was published—he committed suicide.

[DR. HAROLD WINKLER]

In October 1957 Dr. Harold Winkler became President of Pacifica and Station Manager of KPFA. Winkler was one of the new members of the board. A professor of government and political science at the University of California, Winkler was not involved in the station as a staff member. He was concerned with questions of free speech, and had resigned from California in protest over a newly required loyalty oath for faculty members. He was also independently wealthy.

When he first took over, Winkler was enthusiastic and optimistic about the growth and potential of the Foundation. Shortly after Hill's death the downward trend in the FM industry reversed, and KPFA to



HAROLD WINKLER, PRESIDENT 1957-1961

some extent shared in the expansion of the industry as a whole. In 1958 KPFA won the George Foster Peabody Award for Public Service, radio's highest award, for its thoughtful broadcasting, and for its demonstration that mature entertainment plus ideas constitute public service broadcasting at its best . . ."

In July 1959 plans that had been under way for about four years finally reached fruition when Pacifica opened KPFK in Los Angeles. The sister station borrowed parts of KPFA's staff to begin broadcasting, but basically it was an independent unit with its own executive board and station manager. Funds had been raised in Southern California and its growth and development would depend upon the listener-support it could attract there. Costs in the FM industry had risen so sharply in the ten years since Pacifica started that KPFK cost more than \$200,000 to get on the air and operated on a budget of about \$15,000 a month (Pacifica expansion into other metropolitan areas would become increasingly difficult).

Then in January 1960 Winkler received a long-distance telephone call from New York City offering Pacifica a windfall, Louis Schweitzer, a Russian-born millionaire who was President of the Peter J. Schweitzer Division of the Kimberly-Clark Corporation, owned a completely equipped FM station, WBAI-FM in New York City which he wanted to give to Pacifica.

Schweitzer, a strong man—an individualist used to getting his own way—had contributed to a variety of liberal causes. For instance, he funded the Vera Foundation (and named it after his wife), an organization that arranges bail bonds for people too poor to afford them. Other charities have been less conventional. Several years ago he bought a Mercedes-Benz 190, installed a meter and roof-light, paid \$17,000 for a hackies license and medallion, and hired a personal cab-driver. The cabbie was on call to him, but when not driving Schweitzer he was free to operate the cab on his own, splitting the profit with his boss.



LEWIS SCHWEITZER, DONATES WBAI - 1960

Schweitzer had been interested in radio for some time, and he had tried to make WBAI commercially profitable while broadcasting intelligent programs. The tension between the programming and commercial requirements, however, continually frustrated him. Either he could run the station at a loss and maintain excellent programs—something which he could not tolerate as a good businessman, or increase the number of commercials and sacrifice some of the programs—which his humanitarian instincts rejected. He told Winkler that during one of New York's newspaper strikes he realized that "When we were most successful commercially, that was not what I wanted at all . . . I saw that if the station ever succeeded, it would be a failure."

Winkler accepted the station, and Pacifica had suddenly expanded into three metropolitan centers with a potential audience of sixty million people. It had also expanded into a host of problems for which it was thoroughly unprepared.

Pacifica programming projected no consistent orientation. Much of its coverage of current events (news documentaries, interviews, etc.) seemed to be tinged with the latest theories of the emerging left; its theoretical and philosophical programming seemed to project a liberal goodwill tinged with religious mysticism; its drama and literature was traditional and academic; its music was exclusively classical. The quality was unpredictable; professionally produced programs were mixed with inaudible, amateurish ones. Because Pacifica frequently seemed to be trying to provide something for every minority of a minority, it created no identifiable audience.

Meantime, it angered many people who felt that one emphasis or another was dangerous. Pacifica's emergence on a national scale exacerbated the problems. Shortly after WBAI was transferred to Pacifica, for instance, it broadcast tapes of a Communist Party convention. The idea itself was excellent, but WBAI made a journalistic mistake when it allowed the Communist

Party to pre-edit the material. Worse than that, it gave the liberal anti-communist community in New York the opportunity it wanted to launch a bitter attack on the station. It thus alienated the "community leadership" that Hill believed the support of the station depended upon, but it never went far enough to the left to attract radical support.

Administrative problems remained too. In 1957 Hill still insisted that Pacifica be free "from any influence, direct or otherwise, which supervened on the imagination and discretion of the persons responsible for broadcasting." But whereas earlier he had argued that this could only be assured if the broadcasting staff controlled policy, by 1957 he was not so sure.

Winkler wanted no interference with administration, and he removed all staff members from the board and then convinced the executive membership to vote itself out of existence. The staff became paid employees and the board increasingly had less to do with the station; during the early 1960s few board members even listened.

When Winkler took over he was optimistic about Pacifica. In a report published after six months in office, he wrote that he was "utterly amazed by its vitality and its unlimited horizons." By 1961 he was worn out by the persistent financial and administrative problems. The stations were in debt; there were moves at all three to depose him. He resigned in 1961 and was succeeded by a Quaker activist, Trevor Thomas.

Two major developments affected the Foundation during Thomas' reign prior to the Siss hearings, although he himself was not responsible for either of them. Because of certain key staff hirings Pacifica swung markedly closer to the left—particularly that element represented by the young activists. Meantime, the split between board and staff became a chasm that led the staff to organize against their employer.

In 1960 we founded a Pacifica Employees Association (PEA). PEA included all staff members at KPFA, and shortly after Thomas became President we began to negotiate for higher wages and freer working conditions. Ironically, the major issue was identifying certain senior staff members as "professional employees" so that we could work more than the eight hours called for by law for non-professional help. It meant only a minor raise in salary, but the board initially opposed it. Nevertheless, we worked out a suitable arrangement with Thomas.

[PACIFICA EMPLOYEES ASSOCIATION]

PEA acted as a stabilizing influence in Pacifica. When, for instance, KPFA's staff all resigned over a dispute with management, a PEA representative convinced them to organize a staff association and negotiate instead. Some staff members wanted PEA to affiliate with a national union, but when a motion to join NABET won at Berkeley by only eleven to ten, we scrapped the idea because the margin was too close.

Jerry Shore was hired as Executive Vice-President to clear up these administrative problems at a critical time in the Foundation's development. Siss moved against us, however, before Shore had a chance to make his changes.



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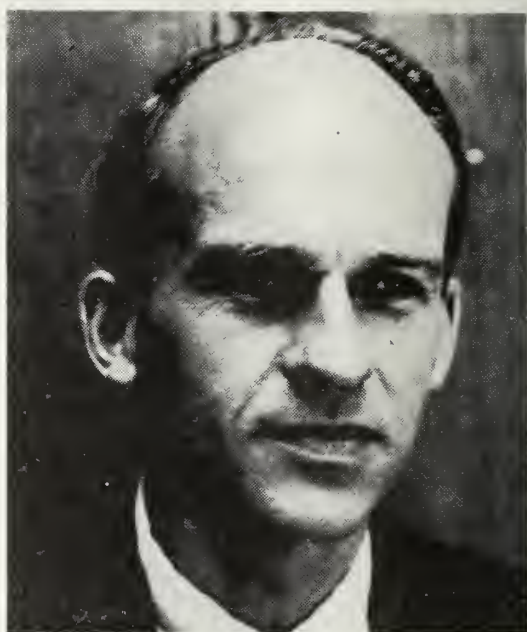
If Pacifica had been listening to its programs and aware of the Foundation's national role, it could have anticipated confrontation with powerful enemies. If it had considered the implications of PEA, it would have anticipated unionization. No one on the board bothered apparently, until we were attacked, and by then it was too late.

[CONCLUSION]

Culture is communication. Society as an organism is not simply the sum total of its components but rather a terribly complex, interrelated message, a meaningful pattern of information, "the pattern of society as a whole"—what T.S. Eliot, Matthew Arnold and others have defined as culture. As such, society can only be understood by the communications that take place within it, for they are, in a large sense, what makes it identifiable.

The communications that we use define and mold the world we think we see and, by extension, the behaviour that we find acceptable. We react and act differently when we define the victims of a U.S. bombing attack on a Vietnamese village as "communists" or "women and children."

Lenin's awareness of the importance of communication is behind his argument in "What is to be done?" that Russian revolutionaries required an all-Russian newspaper. "Socialist consciousness," Lenin argued quoting from Karl Kautsky, "is something introduced into the proletarian class struggle from without . . . and not something that arose within it spontaneously." Without a powerful organ for socialist propaganda, spontaneous movements "lead to the domination of bourgeois ideology . . . for the simple reason that bourgeois ideology is far older in origin . . . more fully developed, and because it possesses immeasurably more opportunities for becoming widespread."



RUSSELL JORGENSEN, PRESIDENT 1963-64

The point is that the development, maintenance and viability of a counter-culture depend on the existence of a counter-culture communications system. And if it is to have any impact beyond its own narrow confines, the system must be technically equivalent to society's most advanced. The most powerful media in the United States is broadcasting, particularly television. For the time being, however, television is prohibitively expensive (about ten times that of radio). Radio, as used by Pacifica Foundation, seems to provide an alternative.

* * *

Dissent in the United States is contained in four ways: it is ignored (isolated and discredited), co-opted, absorbed, or destroyed in that order. Because each of these stages involves a progressively more naked suppression of the Establishment, it will only move to the next when it seems essential to do so.

The most popular form of control is to isolate and discredit opposition. So long as counter-culture communications systems function primarily as house organs for minority movements, and so long as society is otherwise relatively stable, the radical press powerlessness ensures its survival.

Thus Pacifica Foundation, so long as it operated only one small station in Berkeley, California, broadcasting to fifty thousand people and supported by only five thousand of them, was left to develop as it wished. When Pacifica projected itself on the national stage, however, reaching an audience of at least a million and supported by thirty thousand subscribers, its potential influence had to be reckoned with. The Levine broadcast demonstrated that when professional journalists take advantage of a sufficiently sensitive area of national concern and communicate it on a national system, the Establishment press cannot ignore it.

It also demonstrated that when that happens real opposition begins to grow.

When attempts to discredit and isolate opposition fail, it may find itself co-opted. Co-option takes a variety of forms, but primarily it is a way of bringing radical statements, individuals or institutions into the mainstream where they cease to be radically critical. Radical statements, for instance, can be co-opted by giving them publicity within a context that makes them appear ridiculous: thus, when a black revolutionary is given television time, either his most innocuous or inflammatory statements are selected in a context of futile demonstration or a burning ghetto, and the message that emerges from the total presentation is clear—his statements seem hopelessly naive or nihilistic.

When the co-option becomes more complete, it is closer to absorption. Radical programs for instance, can be absorbed by adopting aspects as reformist platforms. Thus Truman took over most of the Independent Progressive Party's program in 1948, and Lyndon Johnson, in 1964, articulated a peace position on Vietnam. If later the reform fails to materialize or to correct the conditions that stimulated them, the credibility gap can itself be manipulated by continually absorbing the weakest elements of the criticism—Johnson's bombing halt, for example. Radical people can be absorbed by hiring them. The poverty programs hire young radicals and put them into a bureaucratic miasma where they are ineffective but relatively affluent.

I do not want to dwell on those various devices, nor even insist that they can be carefully defined. My point is simply that there are many ways of containing dissent without destroying it, and in the United States they are almost always available to radicals.

The Levine broadcast demonstrated that Pacifica had to be dealt with. The attack by Siss and the FCC was a prod; we were threatened with destruction on the one hand, but offered the opportunity to join the mainstream on the other. All we had to do was let one key employee go and agree to sign a loyalty oath. What Pacifica failed to realize was that after that no-

body would be very interested in us. Radicals withdrew their support and the establishment didn't want us. Meantime, we were internally torn to pieces. For the time being, Pacifica had been reduced to the point where it could be ignored.

There are physical limitations on the effectiveness of a broadcasting station as a vehicle for counter culture. Because stations must be licensed by the government to broadcast, they must take into account in their programming, administration and technical operation government regulations and precedents. They must, for instance, maintain a first-class engineer with a FCC license, use equipment that meets government standards, conform to certain administrative procedures and to certain programming requirements.

The FCC is unlikely to withdraw a license from a station on the basis of its programming, so long as the station can prove that its programming represents editorial judgment. But program complaints from listeners filed with the FCC are generally investigated, and they can eat up hours of staff time.

The government's right to regulate broadcasting gives it an ever-present hold over a controversial broadcasting station. And because the FCC would prefer to deny a license to such a station on grounds of technical or administrative violations, the controversial stations must be particularly careful to abide by all the rules. This requires a certain minimal, core of professional staff, and a certain quality of broadcast equipment.

Construction and maintenance costs of a radio station in the United States today depend upon circumstances. When some of us in the civil rights movement and broadcasting tried to start a radio station near Jackson, Mississippi, we estimated that we could construct our facilities and broadcast for a year on a budget of about \$200,000. When, on the other hand, WBAI estimated the cost of moving its facilities in New York to a new location several blocks away, it found that that would cost about \$400,000.

ROBERT GOODMAN, PRESIDENT 1967-69

HALLOCK HOFFMAN, PRESIDENT 1964-66





RUDY HURWICH, PRESIDENT 1969-71

Construction of minimum facilities in a major metropolitan center today will cost at least \$500,000. Costs of operating for a year are about \$250,000, with \$125,000 allocated to staff salaries and the rest for supplies, legal expenses, etc. That will provide for a core staff of ten to twenty people who can be supplemented by an unlimited number of volunteers. It will all allow for minimal standards of broadcasting on a twenty-four-hour a day basis (reduction of the broadcast day does not substantially reduce the costs of the total operation, although it can improve the quality of what is broadcast).

To give some idea of comparative figures for television, the Carnegie Commission (which investigated educational television in the United States some time ago) estimated that a fully equipped television station will cost \$6.2 million with an annual operating budget of about \$3.6 million. An hour episode of a television serial (Star Trek) costs \$250,000.

The large capitalization and maintenance costs are also complicated by the fact that broadcasting occurs in time, and time goes on. A broadcasting station must transmit a continual signal (both to insure its identity with its audience and satisfy FCC requirements), and thus it is virtually impossible today to suspend broadcasting to recoup losses or engage in fund-raising—unlike a magazine, a theatrical group or a free university where there are periods of slack.

Where can this money be raised? Pacifica has explored many alternatives, but we have found that the only reliable one is our audience. Our programming has been too unpopular to attract regular funds from industry, government or the large foundations (which are generally interested only in giving to specific program projects anyway, and the problem here is sustaining the station).

Our studios and our mail suggest that the supporting audience—those who subscribe and pledge additional contributions when asked to do so—is drawn from liberal, upper-middle-class intellectuals, supplemented by a smattering of students and young people.

That demographic breakdown is not surprising. Because of FCC limitations—no radio station can advocate the breaking of a law—Pacifica can never be an overt movement station. In any event, the movement tends to contribute its precious resources to action-oriented projects of immediate need—posters, bail money, travel, etc. The movement has its own house organs and in the United States has not yet shown much interest in propagandizing to others.

Recognition of these limitations clarifies Pacifica's possibilities. It has survived for twenty years despite wildly erratic program quality—despite everything—in part because the idea was so good.

The United States is a country in which middle-class liberals and intellectuals are increasingly dissatisfied, in which they themselves are becoming functional parts of a machine they can no longer control. Dissatisfactions within our universities—the fear that they too are machines to grind out technicians for the military-industrial complex—is an early warning-sign of general middle-class concern. It is premature to wonder now whether or not middle-class elements will be (in the final analysis) revolutionary agents. But it is not too early to recognize that they are searching for alternative life-styles, alternative sources of values and information. Recognizing its audience, Pacifica can provide an invaluable educational service for them. It can project values of counter culture consistent with human freedom. And along the way, it can keep its channel open for the most advanced thinking of the community: it can offer a loud-speaker to the ghettos, a platform for radicals, an outlet for transcendent culture. It does not even have to revolutionize its audience, only neutralize them for the inevitable struggles to come.

Pacifica's single unequivocal stand must be on the First Amendment. It must not allow itself to be distracted, or threatened, or weaned in any way from freedom of speech. Because consciousness is so important, whenever tensions within the United States reach crisis proportions, consciousness will be controlled. Pacifica must stand in the way of that control. By insisting on freedom of speech in culture and politics, Pacifica can make the First Amendment a radical tool.

Pacifica's audience of liberal, middle-class intellectuals will be united with radicals on the question of its existence. That requires the courage to be uncompromising on freedom of speech. For in any confrontation with the power elite, the movement will support Pacifica if we remain true to our own ideals—and that is when we need them. We have suffered most only when we have lost our nerve.

CAROLYN GOODMAN, 1971-





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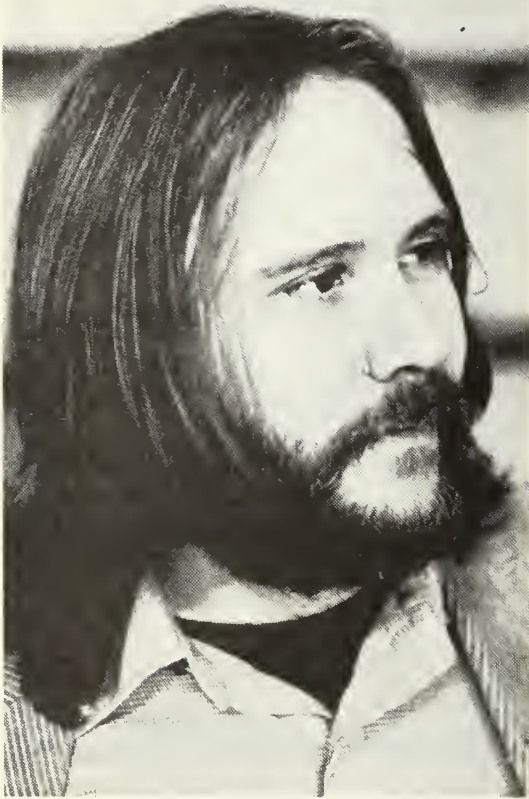
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LARRY LEE, PROGRAM DIRECTOR

Chris Koch wrote his essay four years ago. What follows is an opinionated update written by Larry Lee of KPFA, who, from 1968 until last summer, worked with Pacifica/Houston.

* * *

In 1967, a slight, nearsighted ex-YMCA executive, Frank Millspaugh, became general manager of WBAI. During his term, the station became what most of us in Pacifica think is the best station in the country.

Retaining the quiet, glacial style of Pacifica news and public affairs, Millspaugh and his colleagues deliberately shifted the station's emphasis away from the academy and into the streets, and they translated their own lives and opinions into radio by taking the throwaway late-night and early-morning hours and handing them over to counter-culture impresarios whose human voices were unique in New York radio.

Larry Josephson (morning man), Steve Post and Bob Fass (the late men) played a major role in taking WBAI's subscriber number past 25,000, where it ranges today, and WBAI's role as Pacifica's leading station was underscored when, late in 1967, the presidency of the Foundation moved to the East Coast.

Bob Goodman, that president, was a civil engineer who worked to get Pacifica's quarrelling managers to the same table and weld them into a management council which, with an executive vice-president, would provide continuity to the three-station operation.

The executive vice president was Dr. Stuart Cooney, a benign idealist with visions of Pacifica stations all over the map. He found ready acceptance for a Washington station and asked the FCC to grant a construction permit for it in 1968. But manager opposition and his expansionist ideas cost him his job a year later. At the same meeting in which Cooney's idea for a Houston station (favored by New York, strongly opposed by the California stations) was approved, he was fired, and spent his last months with those of us working in Texas to raise the money.

* * *

Late in 1968, Schweitzer told WBAI they would have to find a new home; he needed all of the old building for his law institute. At the same time, KPFF, now managed by an old roommate of Millspaugh's, Marvin Segelman, decided that a new building was the answer to its ten-year history of deficit and quarrelling.

The Washington application was challenged by a conservative church group which materialized in three incarnations before the FCC decided to accept it for a head-on hearing over the last frequency in the capital.

* * *

In 1969, the Anti-Defamation League staged a massive attack, with fund-raising elements, against Pacifica, charging it with anti-Semitism for its broadcast of a young black girl's poem attacking New York teachers union president Albert Shanker.

In the midst of the fight, Bob Goodman died of a stroke. His widow, Carolyn, a clinical psychologist, filled his role on the New York board, continuing to work on fund-raising to convert an empty church into the new WBAI.

The new president was Bob Goodman's designated second, Rudy Hurwich, a Berkeley industrialist who insisted the Foundation move toward fiscal responsibility.

He argued that such projects as KPFF's new building, and all other capital expenditures, should be cleared by Pacifica's national board, a here-today, gone-tomorrow group drawn, now, from four cities, with the FCC approval late in 1969 of KPFT, the Houston station.

Short of funds, the Goodman-created management council could not meet as often as necessary. A search for a full-time chief executive officer was half-hearted and ended nowhere. Increasingly, Hurwich, chief executive of a large corporation, spent his business days fretting over Pacifica.

WBAI's huge level of audience support helped sustain its costly new building, which opened early in 1971, but at KPFF, application of all special gifts to a

TINUATION...

by Larry Lee

new building left that station in the continuing fiscal crisis it always had lived with, and the new equipment hadn't been hooked up by the time Segelman yielded the managership in favor of Will Lewis, the present Los Angeles general manager.

* * *

The Houston project took to the air March 1, 1970, choosing to broadcast with half a station (no production facilities whatsoever) instead of perishing without being heard. Two months later, right-wingers dynamited the transmitter, but the station returned in less than a month.

Five months later, the bombers struck again, and Pacifica led a media assault on the Justice Department and the Houston police and sheriff, who had done nothing to investigate either bombing.

KPFT struggled to air for a third time, and on the eve of a live national TV show calculated to cause the FBI and Houston authorities even further embarrassment, federal agents arrested a former Houston red squad employee (a Klansman) and charged him with plotting to blow up KPFA and KPFK. (He was sentenced to five years, and is to be tried later on state charges for the KPFT dynamiting.)

Meanwhile, here in Berkeley, manager Al Silbowitz started what he considered long-overdue steps to overhaul KPFA programming. Subscription growth had stopped, and Marathon revenues were, increasingly, spoken for before they were raised.

His announcement that former KPFT manager Larry Lee, yours truly, was replacing Elsa Knight Thompson as program director was met with less than universal glee by the staff, which set out to dump both of us, cheered on by Thompson forces on and off board.

* * *

In Houston, the staff complained to KPFT's board about the benign anarchy of the new manager's program theories, asking that he be eased out. The board balked but, a month later, after the staff had adopted a live-with-it attitude, fired him for refusing to fire a staff member.

I was sent in to untie the Gordian knot, losing the board when I refused to fire the staff member and the staff when I told them I would have liked to. Board and staff pushed their candidates for new manager and Hurwich went with the board, triggering a 23-day strike which I joined, extending my leave of absence from KPFA. (Where else but Pacifica can pig management be striking labor, too?)

Eventually, everybody lost and everybody won. WBAI sent an investigating commission which, its offer of arbitration refused by everyone, then issued a

statement of what seemed likeliest to happen, couched in the language of royal decree.

A majority of KPFT's board voted in the staff's choice for manager, Dave Crossley, but were refused by the national board of Pacifica in their attempt to secure at least one seat on that body.

Totally fed up, Hurwich threw in the towel some months earlier than expected, and Dr. Goodman was elected president of Pacifica Foundation.

The plan now is for the management council to come back to life, meeting bi-monthly at each of the stations in rotation. Their meetings will be open to staff members of the local and distant stations.

Meanwhile, here at KPFA, it became absolutely clear that there wasn't enough money to go around. Voluntarily, staff delayed collection of paychecks—some of us taking a quarter or less of what was due, others taking 100 per cent, as per contract. The \$27,000 Stopgap drive made up for much of the \$50,000 we'd hoped the board would raise, and the other \$23,000 came in a single, anonymous gift from a wealthy couple.

In December, a six-member staff committee on money recommended that we think about staff cuts, salary cuts or some combination of the two, in order to reduce the predicted deficit for 1972.

The Pacifica Workers Union took over those deliberations, and is to issue its recommendations a week after this FOLIO goes to press.

In the midst of these talks, Al Silbowitz confirmed his intention to leave KPFA at the end of three years. (He joined the station on April 1, 1969.)

A joint staff-board committee has been designated to reconstruct the advisory board of directors, and the search for a new manager is underway.

Paul Goodman and Ted Roszak, among others, have written of Pacifica as an exemplary anarchist institution. I believe them. The Foundation accommodates a vast range of motives and styles.

Having been both places, I keenly feel the chasm between the scruffy, equal-pay anarchy of little KPFT and the structure worship of The Mother Station, KPFA. But despite the inevitable cynicism which afflicts Pacifica old-timers like Millsbaugh, Koch and me—a matter, crudely put, of psychic scabs—I see enough of what we're up to in common to keep me here, and would fight to stay well past a welcome.

Chris Koch said the reason best in something he wrote:

"The great programs that have been broadcast have happened despite everything. They were produced by people in the midst of crises, on tape recorders that failed to work, with tape that was so old that it crumbled to the touch.

But they were, eventually, broadcast. Then, for a few moments, there was sudden intense relationship between people on the tape and the audience listening at home—a magic created by a program producer. At that moment, everything else was forgotten. There was communication. It never happens anywhere else on radio or television."

A SUMMARY

by Gene R. Stebbins

The organizational structure set up by the original members of Pacifica provided for equal participation by all persons involved in station operation, and an equal pay scale for all employees. It was idealistic, but most of the goals of the Foundation were idealistic. The reason for this organizational form was primarily to permit the greatest possible freedom for those producing programs—freedom from outside forces such as advertisers or agencies, as well as freedom from internal forces such as owners, managers, and Boards of Directors.

However laudable these principles may have been, as the station grew from a dedicated, tightly-knit group into a functioning institution, the structure of the station and the organizational form of the controlling foundation served to intensify inevitable personal conflicts. For the survival of the station, it was necessary to modify the structure in order to give more power to the executives of the station and add the stability of disinterested persons to the controlling board.

Even with this change, difficulties within the structure persist, although not of the severity of those of the 1952-54 period. Undoubtedly, many of these problems are typical of those found in any radio station—commercial or non-commercial. These problems are intensified at KPFA by the personal identification most Pacifica employees feel for the station. They come to the station with a strong sympathy for the goals and ideals of Pacifica; they work long hours for low pay because of their devotion to these principles; and they come to feel a sense of responsibility for the overall success of the station. Therefore, any problem that arises is immediately of more than normal concern to each em-

ployee, whereas in the normal station, most employees would merely shrug their shoulders and hope the boss could somehow handle the situation.

Add to this the perennial financial difficulties under which all the stations exist, lending an underlying insecurity to the whole operation. In this atmosphere, each small problem is immediately more threatening than in a financially secure station.

Finally, because the personnel give of themselves so far beyond what would normally be required, and at such great personal sacrifice in terms of salaries and other benefits, those in management have often been reluctant to discipline or discharge those whose performance was not adequate. On those few occasions when persons were discharged, other staff members frequently launched substantial protest from the same motivations. Where in the normal radio station, firings are a matter of course in cases of poor performance or programming differences, this has not been the case at Pacifica.

As a result, the dissidents have usually stayed on the staff and attempted to persuade others to their point of view—resulting in an excess of time and energy being devoted to inside-the-station political fighting.

In conclusion, the Pacifica stations, particularly KPFA, being unique in goals and structure, experience many stresses not found in other more traditional organizations. One of the most serious of these involved personal conflicts among staff members, while a lesser, but still serious problem has been establishing sufficient management authority to insure adequate performance from all employees.

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WINE AND THE PEOPLE



BILL SCHECHNER, THE UNGODLY HOURS

The past day has been typically weird, typically Pacifica. Yesterday morning I did my program (it was nothing special but I enjoyed doing it); then I talked with a volunteer who may be working with me on a program about the quality of justice in the San Francisco municipal court; I listened to a tape of a forum on prison psychiatry; ate lunch; spent 90 minutes with two unhappy subscribers trying to explain that I did not like all of our broadcasting either, and inferentially asking them to be patient; agreed to teach another staff member what I can about radio production; went home and ate supper; fell asleep on the living room floor; woke up and went to a union meeting where we discussed the financial crisis; didn't sleep well; spent most of this morning going around asking people how much they would cut their pay in order to keep the station going; sat down to write this. The question is, who needs this kind of aggravation (as my father used to call it)?

I guess I do. But why? Part of it is habit—I've worked at Pacifica stations for too long, perhaps, and can't cut the cord. Part of it is ego. It is true that it's fun to be on the radio in the morning, which is really an intimate time of day. There's almost nobody else here, and somehow I conceive of the audience as being a lot of individual "You's" (Is it indeed true that there are only four of you?) And part of it is wholly intangible.

Every now and then we do some great radio. We achieve a level of honesty that can

change minds, we go places and broadcast voices that are speaking from real experience without the normal overlay of ego. Or somebody says, "You work at KPFA." And they smile, and I see warmth on their face. Imagine, a radio station that means something to somebody.

Also, more than most, we're honest. The pressure to sell our souls is great. The world is full of hypes and con artists—commercial, governmental, political, stylistic. But I think we've managed to keep clear of lots of that, although it seems to me to be harder and harder.

Beyond that, it's a good nest—even though there's lots of guano in the corners. It wears you down sometimes, but so does the Co-op, or Standard Oil, or the TRIBE, or Cal, or the Catholic charities, or being a gripman on the California Street line.

As W.C. Fields once remarked about death: "Given the alternatives, I'd rather be in Philadelphia." With considerable additional warmth, I feel the same about Pacifica.

* * *

Lewis Hill is to Pacifica as Abraham is to Judaism: around at the beginning, central to important mythology, and frequently invoked at crucial junctures to prove various points normally unrelated to what he either did or said. Clearly he was quite a fellow. What follows is something he wrote in 1948 as part of a prospectus for KPFA. It still makes sense.

WHAT IS AN AUDIENCE?

Bill Schechner ■ Lewis Hill

What IS the Audience?

An old theatrical analogy in broadcasting, which envisions the broadcast audience seated, so to speak, in a vast auditorium of common tastes and interests, is the apparent basis of most thinking on this subject. If someone speaks to us not directly out of his own interest and vision, but out of a desire (based on his estimate of our nature) to manipulate us to his conclusions, we resent it.

The argument constructed here could easily over-simplify the audience problem. It is in considerations of this nature which cause a premium to be placed on "sincerity" in the radio announcer's voice, or on the TV entertainer's earnest address to the lens. But despite the endless cultivation of this skill in commercial broadcasting we are ultimately saved by an ordinary fact of human nature which betrays the illusion. We cannot respond for very long, or very often, to a non-existent interest in the broadcaster. What we feel fundamentally when a simulated interest is focused on us, is an absence both of respect for ourselves and in the broadcaster toward his own self. A mutual sense of respect in broadcasting is possible only when the broadcaster does, in fact, honestly participate in his own act—that is, when the thing broadcast actually arises in, or answers in immediate and profound ways, the broadcaster's own sense of value. It is then, as with our acquaintance, that we can accept the occasion as real.

The best educational and cultural programs, the best theatre, the best art and thought in whatever form or medium, display this characteristic genuineness at their origin, and their effect arises from it. When we think of broadcasting as a series of interested acts, it is plain that the audience, from the broadcaster's standpoint, cannot be conceived other than a single individual. That individual, being imaginary, is no doubt a compound inner image representing an idealization of the broadcaster himself. So be it. This identification with his audience is also an ethical obligation of the broadcaster. When the address in the studio is to that part of the broadcaster's own identity which he most respects, most of us will be honored to share it.

Peeking through the curtain, then, will do no good; for the audience is not an aggregate of any description, but a single individual. Listener-sponsored radio rests completely on this premise and its implications as to the proper genesis of programs. It is regarded as a first rule of the project that the persons who formulate and/or perform the materials actually broadcast must be permitted to forage their own resources, express their real interests—and give the real shape of themselves to what is aired, in both substance and manner. For this reason solely, and to assure a measure of integration in the broadcasting institution, it is imperative that control and execution be in the hands of a reasonably homogeneous group, free to search its excellences rather than its averages.



Ken Maas

BILL NORTHWOOD, Public Affairs Director

It's always difficult. People phone you up to tell you about things that are going on. There are the essentially positive things—things that people are putting a lot of energy into, things that are alternatives to the large, bureaucratized institutions. You can talk about the decline—what the institutions that exist are not doing, or are doing badly—or you can try to talk about the things that people, mostly outside those institutions, are trying to do to rectify what's bad, or to replace it.

So, what I have to do, is to select from among competing demands. Deep down, you believe that no one should have to exercise that function, and then you come to work for a radio station—even a Pacifica radio station—and realize that that's a large part of what your "job" is, being a selector.

And whether you have a group of people that calls itself a collective, or a number of individuals with different kinds of functional responsibilities, there are decisions that have to be made, because that's what radio, as a medium, appears to be all about.

Once you've been around Pacifica for awhile, you go out and report on things the other media are reporting, see what the other media are like and how they do their job. You compare it to how you do yours, and you think about the incredible freedom you have when you work for Pacifica, as opposed to the incredible constriction of creativity that commercial broadcasting requires.

But on the other hand, you think, "Ahhh. But the incredible resources that are available to people in commercial broadcasting."

You never have to worry if one of your recorders breaks down. There'll be another one there. If not today, at least tomorrow. You never have to worry about the resources being as terribly limited as they are around Pacifica.

Frankly, I don't know.

There is no other place like this.

They have unions, and we have a union (of which I'm presently the president). But it ain't the same animal. We are not really part of the industry, although sometimes we are more like them than we would like to think. And other times, we are not as much like them as we would like to be.

I was once a mild-mannered, unsuspecting graduate student at the University of California at Berkeley. I wandered in off the streets, and was a news volunteer and a public affairs volunteer, and I liked it, so I stayed. Through various quirks of fate and circumstance, I was hired.

The reason I started volunteering at KPFA was because of the People's Park coverage. I had never listened to KPFA regularly before. Within a month after that, I knew some people who were volunteers at the station, and I expressed an interest in the station. They said, "You should come in and volunteer." The fatal words. I'm still here.

The most important reason for Pacifica to exist—the reason you would have to invent if it weren't here—is access. "Access," to me, was primarily defined in terms of radical politics. It meant people who were, to me, being misrepresented in the media.

Our main problem is selection. It's difficult not to lapse into the personal prejudices you and the other people you are working with have. When you come to work for a place that's been around for more than 22 years, there are certain traditions of the kind of subjects that Pacifica covers.

These traditions have to do with questions of social justice, racism, imperialism, materialism—as expressed in adventurism abroad or repression at home.

PATRIC MAYERS, Producer

Having scripted several commercial cinema deluxe extravaganzas—entering radio seemed a logically lateral progression of sorts. Recorded, dubbed, mixed and re-mixed—snip, snip, splicing—and what do we have here? Software for the mega-public; it was a means to an end, utter exhaustion to the audial medium.

It's clear: severe seem the limitations in the film industry from the penman's peculiar precipice. Hail Bertold Brecht and the engendered response.



HARVEY WALLERSTEIN, Producer

Software doesn't grow on trees...

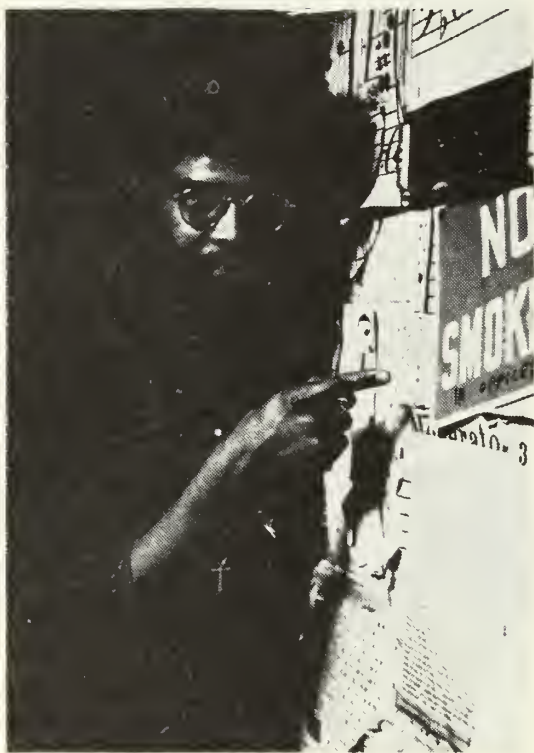


KATIE MARKHAM, Receptionist

After all these meetings, I can't think of a thing to say...

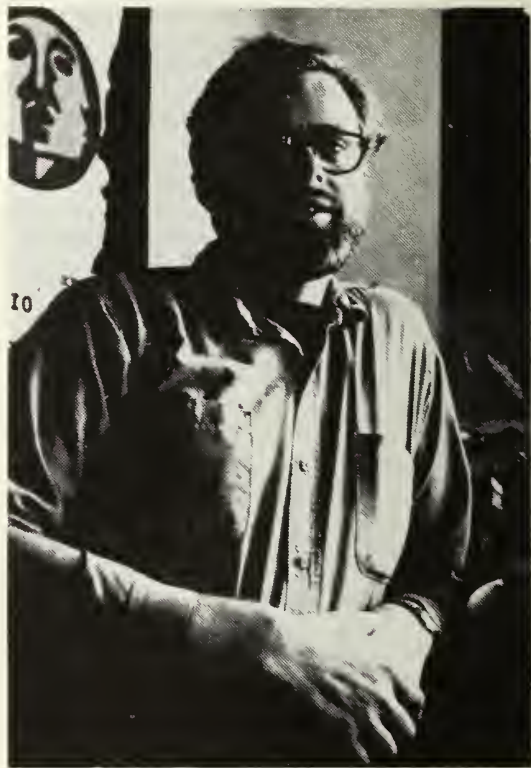
photographs by Larry Mandella

A Day In The



ROLAND YOUNG, Producer

I feel like the night starting on a voyage toward the day where the power lies, why? history in way of present adoption of a new darker—beautiful—reality affirmation after the flow of another's blood sucked dry, bye!



HERB CHILDS, Subscription Assistant

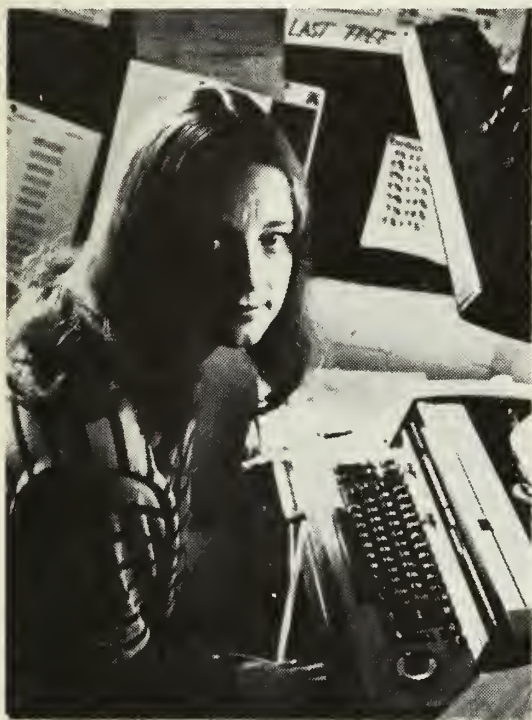
I take pleasure and satisfaction in volunteering at KPFA for much the same reasons that I have chosen a career as a librarian—being part of a constant and stimulating flow of ideas and information, a craving for diversity and the new and experimental, and the opportunity to be a factor in a relatively unstructured, uncensored, unintimidated, and essential service to the community.

SANDY SILVER, Volunteer Producer

Music is the common language of the cosmos.



Life of KPFA



CONNIE WIGGINS, FOLIO composition

KPFA has gotten me involved in what I consider to be a valuable part of the revolution of this society. It is an alternative to what people usually have to listen to, and when it is the best kind of radio, as it often is, I think that it provokes people into thinking for themselves and gives them a wider perspective of what is happening in the world politically and artistically, it covers a lot of territory that ordinarily isn't mentioned by other media.

I had known about the existence of Pacifica radio even before I came to the Bay Area but had never been a regular listener or supporter. The incident that finally got me involved here was the death of George Jackson and the comprehensive, human coverage that KPFA did during that time. Listening regularly led to volunteering and volunteering leads to all the work you ever needed.

I type the FOLIO which means that I put in a week and a half of frantic, desperate typing as we try to make our printing deadline. The rest of the time I do keypunching and whatever else needs to be done. I don't feel that my job is any less important than those on the air because broadcasting is only one part of the total activity going on here.

KPFA may not be all that it could be, but I feel without a doubt that it is more than any other station, and I am glad to work here as long as I can.



GEORGE CRAIG, Chief Engineer

If you're technically oriented in this society, there aren't too many places where you can apply your talents to do anybody any good. You can fix his television set, but that's not really very helpful.

I'm here at KPFA because I'm interested in the medium but not everybody else's message. I've been here between thirteen and fourteen years.

The other places aren't doing anything. They provide an hour of public-service time on Sunday morning at nine o'clock. And the rest of the time is spent trying to make money. I have no particular empathy with that.

Photographs by Russell Abraham



JULIA CURTIS, Office Manager

I feel that working at KPFA is invaluable training which I could only get at a Pacifica Station. (I fend off the creditors.)



CHRISTOPHER WEILLS, Promotion Director

KPFA? Memories of things that might have been. Absorbing, fulfilling, spontaneous, enervating, excruciating. Months and weeks of emotion condensed to days. A difficult, trying, rewarding experience. For people with high thresholds or addled minds. But lovely.



CHARLES AMIRKHANIAN, Sound Sensitivity Information (music) Director

I started to work here in 1969. I came in because I had decided that that was a place where anything could happen with the media, and decided that I would try to do a lot of things that stretched the medium a lot. And I knew that there was an opportunity to broadcast very esoteric and obscure things, which was one of my main interests in the field of classical and ethnic music, and that you didn't have to talk down to an audience or compromise programming ideas in any way...

It's very strange, the sense you get of things when you think of them in audio terms, without visuals.

What people expect from the media is quite different from what they expect to hear in private conversation or other gatherings where people talk back and forth, and this is happening in the visual arts—the ZAP COMIX thing, which probably wouldn't have been able to happen four or five years ago, is now completely overground.



MEDIAPOLY

A game conceived by Bill Schechner and designed by Larry Mandella

KPFA'S MARATHON IS SCHEDULED TO LAST A MONTH. WE HOPE IT WON'T TAKE THAT LONG. IT DEPENDS ON YOU AND YOUR FRIENDS. IT'S A GAME EVERYONE CAN PLAY. PLEASE CALL KPFA AT 848-6767 (OR TOLL-FREE FROM SAN FRANCISCO 981-7730).

Stray cat pees on archives.
PAY \$20

Recycle old FOLIOS.
COLLECT \$25

FCC Violation.
Go back three spaces.

Volunteer freaks out,
wrecks keypunch.
PAY \$50

Advance to the Berkeley
Gazette.

Post Office sends FOLIOS
to Toledo.
PAY \$15

Angry subscribers kidnap
program director.
PAY \$45

Staff understands management
memo.
COLLECT \$25

Staff qualifies for
food stamps.
COLLECT \$35

We're in the money.
COLLECT pay \$40.

Unsecured debt called in.
PAY \$100

PG&E overcharge
COLLECT \$15

Pizza is rancid
PAY \$60

Tough luck—advance
to the Chronicle.

You sell out.
Advance to KFRC

Take a ride on the Muni.

Spend a day in staff meeting.
Miss next turn.

Plane hits transmitter.
PAY \$50

Visitor brings pizza
COLLECT \$45

You make matching fund.
COLLECT \$30

Remote van hits plane.
PAY \$50

How to play MEDIAPOLY

Cut up little pieces of paper to use as money. Make about \$5000 worth. Give each player \$900 to start. (If you run out of money during the game, do what the government does—make more.) When each player passes KPFA, he collects \$200 from the bank. Put fines under KPFT. Anyone stopping on KPFT gets what's in the pot.

The game is played with two dice. Each player advances the number he rolls. The topmost figure on each stop is the amount it costs to buy it. The bottom figure is the amount you pay to the owner if you stop there. You have to land on a stop to buy it, and then you buy from the bank. You can trade things. Collusion is allowed; cheating is not.

Print the Marathon card items on file cards. Pick one when you stop on "Marathon!"

A final word: we are not ego attached to our game. If you don't like it, you may vary it yourself. Also, the game is best played if there is a break each hour for milk and snacks. This marathon is probably going to last 20 days—enough time for 350 games of Mediapoly. Start cutting up the money.

\$ 100

muzak



NOH

\$ 220

\$ 220

oakland
tribune



\$ 100

NOT
FOR
SALE



\$ 190

KFR



\$ 90

MARATHON



EDIA

smash
capitalism

guardbarb
tribe



times

go where you
want to

\$ 130

FOSTER
&
KLEISER

\$ 50

\$ 100

MUNI
R.R.



\$ 25

MARA

NOT
FOR
SALE



POLY



\$103.99

KSFX



\$15

berkeley
gazette



still only
10¢

\$50

NOT FOR SALE

NOT

\$500

CHRONICLE
KRON T.V.
A.M. F.M.



\$300

MARATHON

\$360

BRILLIANT
STONE



\$145

NOT FOR SALE

\$310

BAY
CABLE
VISION



\$100

BART



\$50

\$120

MAR



Fran Watkins, program coordinator

One of the main reasons I'm working here is, as a woman interested in the problems and rights of women, I find it one of the most fulfilling places to work. I can develop my own creative potential here in ways I feel that I can't do at other places because I am a woman.

I do get to do more responsible work here than I think I would get to do anywhere else. Part of that is because I don't have any other media experience. And if I went into another radio station, they would hand me a typewriter and a filing cabinet and tell me to go to work.

In this station I wasn't handed a microphone, but when I scruffled and fought for it, I got one . . . and got the opportunity to be on the air, to learn how to produce radio programs and actually do the kind of work that I'm interested in—instead of sitting at a typewriter and vicariously enjoying the work of the men at the station.

I think one of the most important things we should be doing at KPFA is generating our stories, generating our own information. I think KPFA now is generally reacting to the things that the other media do. I think that there are a lot of things that the other media in the Bay Area are not doing that we should be investigating more fully.

I think that we should be sharing our skills with the community in whatever ways the community finds meaningful. If that means we

can transmit all the information that needs to be transmitted just by setting up a microphone, then I think that's all that's necessary. If we feel a fuller statement of an issue is required, then real radio production comes into play, and I can't think of an issue where that wouldn't be an essential part of our coverage.

Listenability. We should concern ourselves a great deal more with that. If you mean whether or not Pacifica is pleasant to hear—entertaining, light, spontaneous—I think we shouldn't be concerned with listenability at all. I think there are times when KPFA should be very hard to listen to.

If KPFA gets the kinds of support from the community that we would like to see, I could survive here indefinitely. If we don't, I can't survive very long.

Right now, I'm willing to put up with the internal hassles, because there's no place else where a woman in the Bay Area could fulfill creative potential and could learn as much about media as she could at KPFA.

And right now, KPFA is one of the few places in the country where people can tell the truth, and for those two privileges, I'm willing to put up with a lot of internal hassles.

If other media opened up, so that I were able to tell the truth and develop creative potential, and they didn't have as many internal hassles, I can assure you I'd be on my way. I don't see that coming, do you?



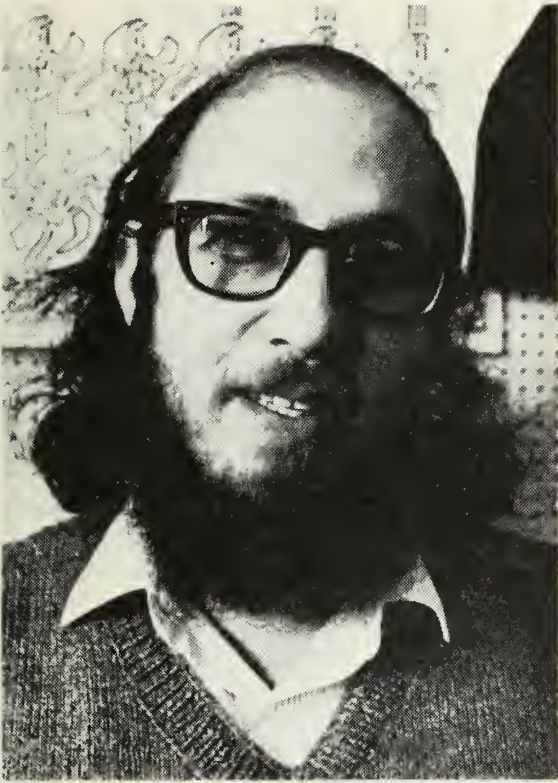
*Jennie Stone & Yolande de Frietas
(Program Operations)*

RUSSELL ABRAHAM

April, 1969

IS KPFA GOING HIP?

dave lawsky



Station KPFA gets a new manager April 1. He is Al Silbowitz, who reported the Free Speech Movement over KPFA, wrote in the news department, served as a temporary drama and literature director, and made a series of special reports from Watts. He is now chairman of the Better Berkeley Council, which has been concerned with the police and their attitudes toward the public. "The cops had nine days where the Constitution was suspended in Berkeley," Al says, "Last summer there were 600 cops at one time in the Telegraph Avenue area." The BBC has started police patrols on the Avenue, to watch the cops. They have also asked old-line liberals on the City Council to resign. Saturday morning I talked with Al:

DAVE: What do you plan to do right after you become manager at KPFA, Al?

AL: The next few months will be experimental. One thing that will happen is that we'll go multiplex-stereo. This has GOT to happen. People are more critical nowadays, and demand better technical quality. There will probably be a marathon in May; I don't love marathons, but we need to raise the money.

DAVE: Will you also boost the power of the station?

AL: Well, we do broadcast "To much of Northern California," actually;

we have about a 100 mile radius, because our antenna has the height. We probably will add vertical and horizontal broadcasting—the engineers tell me that will help reception.

DAVE: In general terms, what do you think KPFA's role is, and how does that role have to change, if it has to change?

AL: KPFA is a handmade radio station, that's what fascinates me about it. The studios were literally built piece by piece. The transmitter was put together by volunteer engineer kids fourteen years old; KPFA is really community property. It's community property in a way KSAN, KOIT, or even KQED can't be. The commercial stations are all put-ons—they'll shift to the trend, whatever the trend is; everything's bought and paid for. KPFA has to depend on the listeners.

KPFA was a noble experiment, aimed at the 1940 liberal, intellectual audience. There was a sense of elitism among its listeners, and the programming was geared towards them. This is the twentieth year of KPFA's operation, and what they haven't recognized is the new audience. Of course, even the old audience has changed and grown. For example, people won't listen to an hour lecture anymore. We've sounded dead because we have so many lectures; sure, we should keep some lectures on, but the number should be cut down considerably.

DAVE: You said KPFA is different

from KQED. How?

AL: KQED depends on large grants, on the dowager circuit, on San Francisco Society. A TV station costs ten, maybe twenty times as much to operate as KPFA. KPFA runs on a shoestring; you might say we can afford to be insulting to more people. Anyway, we should recognize that we're not going to have a mass audience, and shift to the audience we do have, the new audience.

DAVE: Who is the new audience?

AL: Well, I don't just want to say the young people; Time Magazine makes so much of the generation gap that I wonder if it really exists, but it is the audience that is served by a kind of network in the Bay Area; this network helps make the Bay Area a livable place. The network of communication I'm talking about includes the Express Times, The Barb, The Committee, The Mime Troupe; it also includes the Chronicle, which is a very open paper, with room for lots of different kinds of views. The whole thing is a kind of a free confusion, addressed to the Bay Area; KPFA has to serve more than just the University community, and join the network.

DAVE: How does KPFA do that? What kinds of format changes should be made?

AL: One of the questions about that—about getting KPFA going—is, simply, do people want to listen to the radio anymore, except as background music? The change in the times is, for example, the guy who used to write a novel now goes over to SF State, enrolls in the film department, and makes a movie.

DAVE: Well, what kinds of specific changes will you make?

AL: KPFA can be an outlet for people, a place for public announcement, kind of a continuing bulletin board. Maybe we can't go out to everybody, but we can use the phone a lot more. People should know they can call in and get air time; they have to realize KPFA is an outlet.

Instead of having black people talking to white people on our programs, we should try and get black people preparing programs for black people. That will not only speak to black people, but probably be more interesting to whites, too.

People will want to listen for two reasons. First, they won't know quite what to expect, and second, they will have read their folios, and will be tuning into programs that interest them. But the folios aren't the main thing; people support us because they like us, not to receive the folio.

DAVE: WBAI, the Pacifica station in New York, has been quite successful with some of their format. For instance, the morning Larry Josephson show and evening Bob Fass show have quite a following. What do you think about that kind of show?

AL: Well, one thing that sells is personality. KPFA, unlike WBAI, has been quite conservative about personality. We haven't wanted to play those games and actually we've ended up sounding quite sterile. Broadcasting is part of show business; and as show business we should delight and entertain—and that doesn't mean we don't educate. We don't JUST want to sell a gag, but we should be able to laugh at things; everything's got to be laughed at: that doesn't mean we aren't serious, we can be dead serious, but we can still be funny. If the station is more entertaining, people will be fighting to get on the air.

DAVE: If you are more open to the "personality," what kind of people will you try and get on the station?

AL: Well, we used to have Allen Watts, when he was what was happening. We should try and get people—university people, students, people known locally, and those who aren't known so well. We should make the station a place where people want to gather. I'd like to move, although we can't do it right away, to a place where we'd have more space for people to gather. I'd like some kind of an auditorium, and where we are now isn't really big enough.

DAVE: I guess a place really means a time and a place—like Sproul Plaza at noon, for instance.

AL: That's true, and people will attract other people at a certain time and place.

DAVE: There has been talk at the station about how sick the situation is—people feuding with each other, and nobody being able to work. For instance, the control room and studio doors were locked recently.

AL: I think the locked control room doors represent a failure in the station; there is practically no communication between departments now. When things aren't moving, and people aren't listening to the station, there tends to be a lot more backbiting; nothing's happening, so we feed on ourselves. The concern has to be directed out, the enemy is out there.

DAVE: The news at 6:30 has been a consistently popular show. There's about to be a new news director, and there has been criticism that the show is dull. Do you plan to change the news format?

AL: The news director now is a wire editor. He rips the AP wire and re-writes

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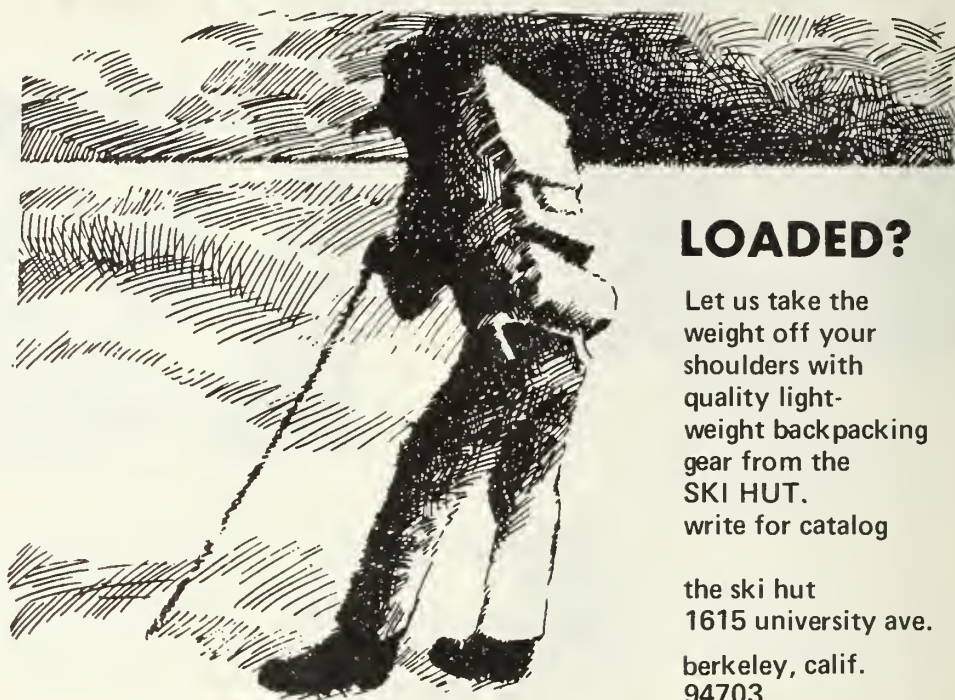
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it. I think the news director should be a city editor, he should be co-ordinating people in the field. We should have people phoning in from different places; they don't even need a tape machine, just a pencil and paper. It would be nice to pay these stringers, too; not much, but maybe five dollars an item or something.

The news should be broken up more; it would be nice to have verbal political cartoons—a kind of a Feiffer or a Cobb of the air. If anybody can do that kind of thing, I wish they'd contact me.

DAVE: What kinds of local events haven't been getting covered?

AL: Richmond is a good example. There wasn't really any coverage until that lady came up from LA in an ambulance so she could vote at the school board. The press usually doesn't really cover what's happening, just what's staged. People who know how to stage things, know the show business of news, get the coverage.

DAVE: There's been some talk around the station about combining news and public affairs. Do you plan to do that?

AL: They're really already combined; there should be more of an interconnection, it's just natural. For instance, I think we should do as much live coverage of events as possible. That's really news and public affairs.

DAVE: What about the Drama and Literature department? Baird Searles has had success at WBAL with his productions of plays. Do you plan to do something similar?

AL: I want to put on things that are new. I want to put on—well, they're not really plays any more, so I want to put on whatever you want to call it that people are writing today. KPFA is a place that new theater should be tested.

DAVE: What about music?

AL: Well, we will be going multiplex, of course. One thing we have done in the past that's been very good is put on the new music, modern music that you can't hear anywhere else. I think we should continue to do that. I'd also like to get into rock, not so much just the music, but the ramifications of the music.

DAVE: What about expansion of Pacifica beyond KPFA in LA, WBAL in New York, and KPFA?

AL: Well, we're looking for new outlets. We're thinking of places like Houston, Texas or Washington, DC. When you're thinking of Houston, you're really thinking of different kinds of places.

DAVE: With KQED-FM getting ready to go on the air in mid-May, what do you plan to do? How do you feel about competition?

AL: Well, KQED will probably not

cross KPFA, there's so much going on that they'll probably be doing different things.

DAVE: What about money? Won't they compete for subscribers?

AL: Well, that is one area where we may cross. Still, I think competition is a good thing.

DAVE: What about money on a regular basis? You talked about a marathon, but how about building up subscriptions?

AL: Of course KPFA talks about being above money, but money is a game you have to play, and if we have to play, we should play well.

DAVE: And right now KPFA doesn't. I heard a promotional the other night that went on for three or four minutes about "you, the listener," and how "we need your money."

AL: Well, you can operate out of a feeling of scarcity, or out of a feeling of abundance. We shouldn't beg. Again it's a matter of show business; we're in show biz, and our promotionals should be much better.

DAVE: What about the style of the station as a whole? Can you make some general statement?

AL: The style has to change. We're living in an age where Haiku is more appropriate than the Epic poem. People aren't willing to listen to long things.

There are too many myths: how people relate to each other, what you can say and can't say, what you take into your body and what you're not supposed to take into your body, even what your dreams are. The society is opening up; we have to let some of the confusion flow through: that's where the creativity is. If we have too much structure, we're falsifying.





LARRY BENSKY, PRODUCTION DIRECTOR

SOME THOUGHTS ON UNDERGROUND RADIO AND KPFA, by Larry Bensky.

Those inclined to the fashionable short-range disillusionment with social change characteristic of masses of formerly militant people at the beginning of 1972 are depressed beyond belief at the current state of radio broadcasting. Their despair is perhaps justified but it certainly isn't likely to prove creative. The central fact to be remembered is that the audience with which we once felt rapport is still here. It just isn't listening any more.

Might it listen again? Might even more people listen as the conditions of our country force increased seriousness? Might they listen to KPFA? Certainly a golden moment has been lost for commercial broadcasting; almost as certainly, the willful limitations and stylistic conservatism of KPFA have caused this station to miss the same moment. But the listeners are still there. It is absurd to think that the thousands of people who have tuned out of the 'underground' radio scene are lost forever. They just have to be brought back and, of course, I think this can be done. KPFA has a head start in its fine access to public affairs and news material, and in its commitment to free time—free of the nerve wracking 'every second pays' attitude in commercial radio. What is lacking at KPFA is the inspiration and organization to use that time. These will not occur

if personal and procedural hassles continue to take priority over commitment to quality. The neglected and disillusioned constituencies for broadcasting (as well as for printed journalism and television) are all too apparent; the means of getting to them will only be defined by those determined to do so.

In commercial radio's fleeting underground days, those of us on the air had rapport with the audience which should be even easier to obtain at KPFA, whose listeners must support the station more directly, by subscribing and donating. Unfortunately, both the narrowness of opinion and presentation supported by some members of the station's present subscribership, and the disbelief in the media engendered by the failure of the 'underground' to be a real alternative—are serious obstacles to overcome.

The present staff must prove it knows the power of communication before it will overcome suspicions of the latter. I know that a great start has been made in the direction of credibility and quality in the past few months. The determination to keep at the struggle despite financial difficulties—personal and institutional—and the temporary personal depression at social and political events, requires a deep determination and commitment. Such faith was singularly lacking in the 'underground' radio days—primarily because entertainment is, at best and only rarely, a medium for anything but distraction. There is much more to living than the transitory high of being entertained or providing entertainment. We hope KPFA will find a way to make that 'more' a reality.



THE \$64,000 ANSWER

THE KPFA STAFF'S
AUSTERITY PROPOSAL

[An After-Deadline Word]



Dear Listener,

The day before this FOLIO went to press, KPFA's staff and management reached a written agreement on immediate salary cuts and a technique for achieving further savings through a reorganization of the paid staff structure this summer.

These proposals resulted from more than a month of intense discussion and argument, a time of sustained self-examination. There isn't room here to go into full detail, but, because they have such a major bearing on reducing the losses projected in the financial section of this FOLIO, these ideas deserve your attention on the eve of Marathon. In brief, the main elements include:

—Immediate, voluntary cuts in salary by every staff member at KPFA, ranging from \$25 to \$300 per month. These cuts went into effect on January 15 and have reduced the station's monthly costs from \$28,000 to just over \$24,000.

—A freeze on creation of new jobs at KPFA. Replacement of employees who resign, or who are dismissed for cause, only upon approval of two-thirds of staff, including management. Agreement that management will make no layoffs simply to reduce budget, pending the new labor contract.

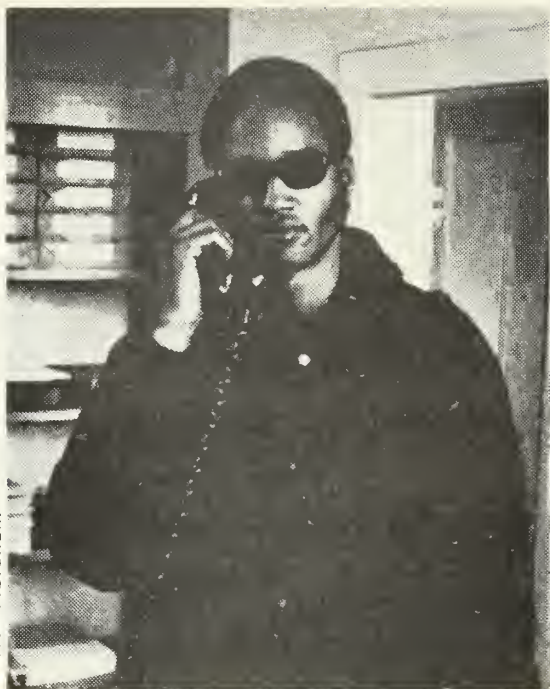
—Designation of a staff committee, to include management representation, to devise a basis for a new work contract to take effect no later than June 23, 1972. This new structure will be based upon further salary cuts and/or numerical staff reductions resulting in a total payroll savings of \$7,000 a month from present levels.

Thus, on the budget and cash-flow charts which appear elsewhere in this FOLIO, all of them based on maintenance of \$28,000/month in expenditures, the January figure becomes \$26,000/month, the February-June figures \$24,000/month and the figure for each month for the rest of the year, \$21,000.

The total projected savings will be \$64,000. Beyond the savings, of course, is the prospect of a more efficient and intelligently-governed station, one giving great care to maintenance and expansion of its broadcast service while insuring its survival through realistic planning.

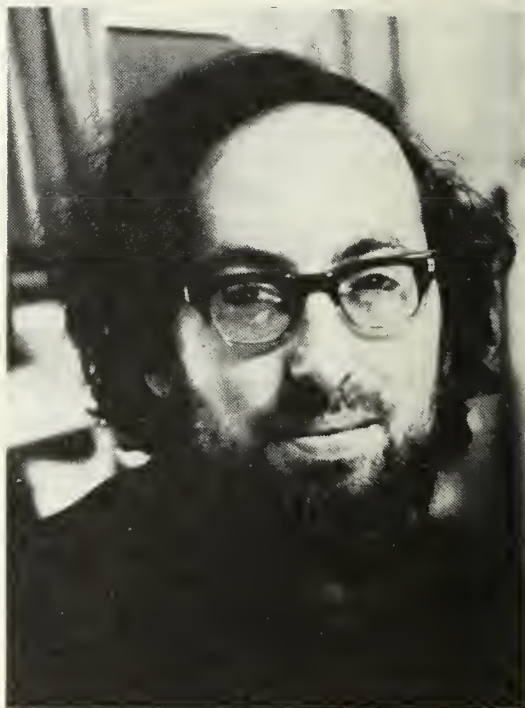
None of us are kidding ourselves that it's going to be easy, but we are proceeding in the belief that the austerity measures will help us earn the concern and generosity of you and the ten thousand other listener-sponsors. We never needed you more.

—The staff of KPFA



PHIL JACKSON, Volunteer.

KPFA is the creative collage of peoples ideas. KPFA is here, therefore it is. Educational Communication at its best.



photographs by Larry Mandella

TOM GREEN, Pacifica Computer Consultant
Co-ordinator

DENNY SMITHSON, Producer

Pacifica offers the best chance to produce programming representing the total spectrum of opinion and, at the same time allows the necessary internal administrative struggles to take place.

Struggles—which I hope will lead to eventual staff control of, and responsibility for, our operation. The first possibility allows the dissemination of ideas that will increase the consciousness of our listeners, and the second allows the staff to increase its level of consciousness through active participation in all of the necessary overlapping areas of decision making.

DEBBIE SWEENEY, Volunteer

I left New York, WBAI and Larry Josephson and went West. Arriving in San Francisco, alone, entering a new time zone, getting in touch with its rhythm (WBAI turned me around in N.Y., why not look for the mother of it all, KPFA). Up and down the tuner—found the sound—Billie Holiday—later met Sylvester, “nephew” of Madam Blues—it all came together. It usually does on Pacifica, and it’s usually truth being brought to what is happening around me.



MIKE NISSENBERG, Volunteer,

Nothing comes to mind...except that...

WARREN VAN ORDEN, Music Assistant

I suppose after almost seven years most of the aura has worn off, but it still is often simply exciting to work at a radio station. Much more important to me, however, is the fact that KPFA (like no other station in the area) allows me to be involved in presenting kinds of material (political and cultural) which is generally avoided on the commercial capitalistic media.

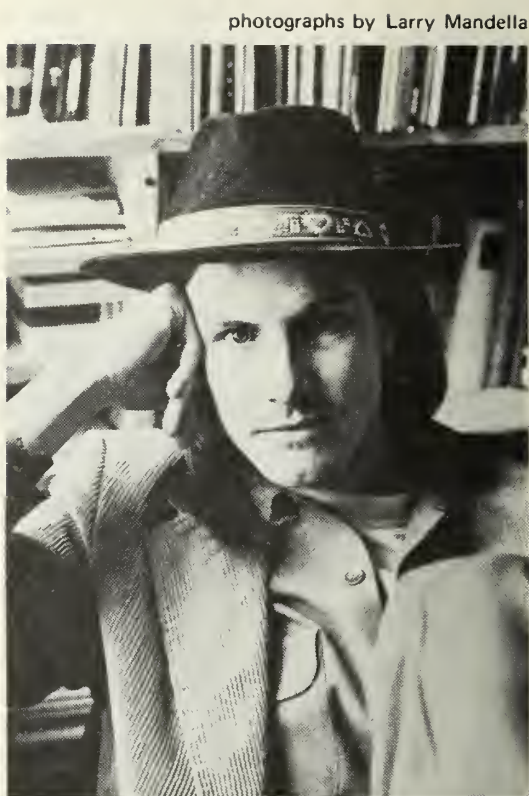
The fact that we can present critiques of the system of which most commercial advertisers are a supportive part is very valuable because it provides another tool in helping many people come to a realization that revolutionary actions must be directed toward destroying that very capitalistic system that is so important to the stations elsewhere on the dial. And we are more capable of devoting time and energy to examining the many alternatives that are being put forth for revolutionary activity culturally and politically.





VERA HOPKINS' Secretary, Pacifica Foundation

Pacifica as an ideal became real through KPFA, followed by KPFB, KPFK, WBAI and KPFT. It is important to the degree it attracts people who are creative, intelligent and social minded. It is significant when it remains a pioneer.



GERARD VAN DER LEUN, CCCC Director (Drama and Literature).

Why am I here? God knows. It's a question that I ask myself every morning as I get up.

I'm here because I was alienated from the church at a young age. My original desire was to be a monk. After that, I wanted to become a plumber. Oh, yes. I wanted to be an Episcopalian monk. In wolf's clothing.

KPFA is a repository for the congenitally deformed and simple-minded, obviously. I've been in this town for six years. Anyone who's been in this town for six years is permanently addled.

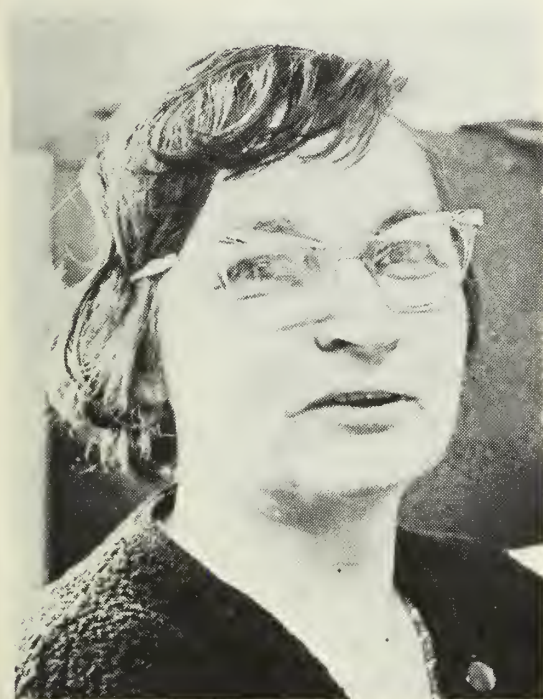
Lobotomy across the board—a cut of the cerebrum as well as a cut in pay—is the only answer to the problems which afflict this station.

JAN LEGNITTO, Traffic/Pacifica Co-ordinator

Pacifica radio, though completely enmeshed in its own unique brand of bureaucracy, still has in it the potential to grow and respond to the everchanging needs of the communities which it serves—a potential which I believe can exist only in non-commercial media.



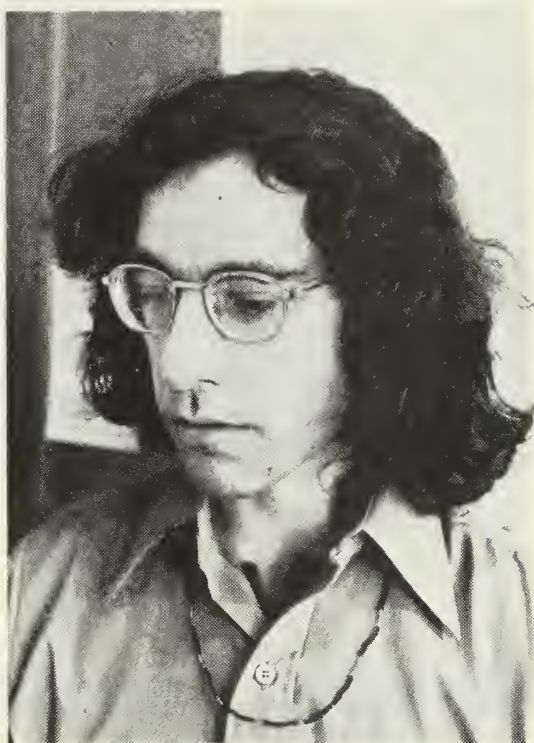
HAL LEVIN, Pacifica Program Service



MARION JANSEN, Bookkeeper

From my point of view, KPFA is very frustrating but in other ways very stimulating. People with all these different ideas about how things should be run, endless meetings, etc.

Photographs by Larry Mandella



ANDREW OGUS, Volunteer

I've been here since the very end of August last year. At that time it seemed I was a kiss of death—the people I became immediately involved with left the station very suddenly. Despite that unfortunate beginning I have persevered, coming in as much as I can and establishing a space here.

All these things are really possible for me to do if I take on the responsibility to do them. It can happen here, and not many other places. And the contacts with people who come to radio land are amazing. Also, working at KPFA satisfies my sense of social responsibility on a broad scale which belonging to radical factions or parties or whatever can't do. Having been briefly involved with some "revolutionary" movements I find I need something more encompassing—and the station seems to be open to virtually everyone.

Photographs by Larry Mandella .



SHARON STEIN, FOLIO Editor

KPFA? A Sisyphean exercise in humanism...



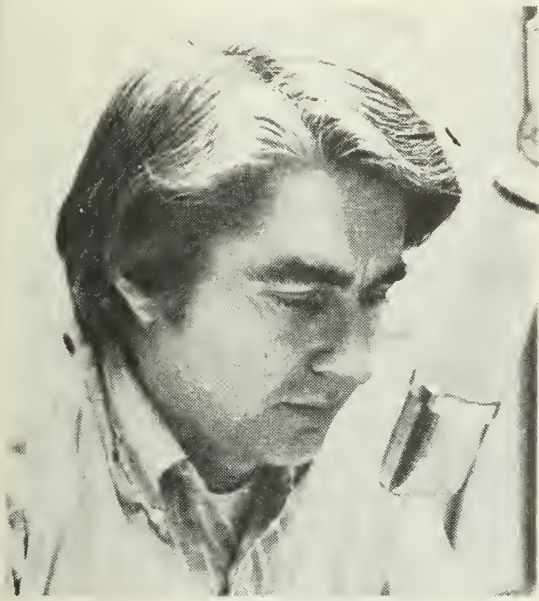
JOE BELDEN, News Director

I like working at KPFA because here I am—25 years old and I get my own news program. I wish they had more money...I think the news is the best in the Bay Area.



RICHARD PETTLER, Folio, Business Manager

Beneath all the rhetoric lies a simple principle—the imperfectability of Pacifica. To accept this fact, and to go beyond it, indicates a healthy understanding of our potentialities.



ALAN FARLEY, Production Assistant

I've been with KPFA two years. Freedom of speech, lack of commercial control and pressures, all that. I think it's all true.

I speak without experience, but I read a lot about what goes on in the commercial media...the pressures. My work before doing this was teaching. This seemed like a more exciting thing—something closer to what is really going on.

When I was at graduate school in Berkeley, my greatest educational experience took place here at KPFA, as a volunteer. Which is why I came back, ten years later.

One has the feeling that in those days, our problems didn't exist. That a lot more people did a lot more things—got more things accomplished. But that may be simply because I was here as a volunteer.

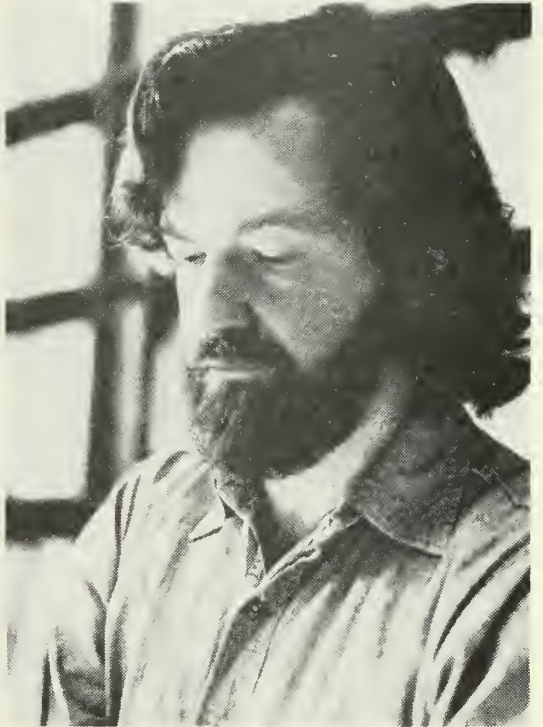
The problem that's always been uppermost in my mind is reaching a broader audience, the audience that we should reach. The black community, as one example. There have been things suggested, a few things done, but they've had no great effect, so far as I can tell.



LIZ SCOTT, Volunteer

GEORGE CLEVE, Producer

"Tis better to be vile than vile esteemed,
When not to be receives reproach of being."



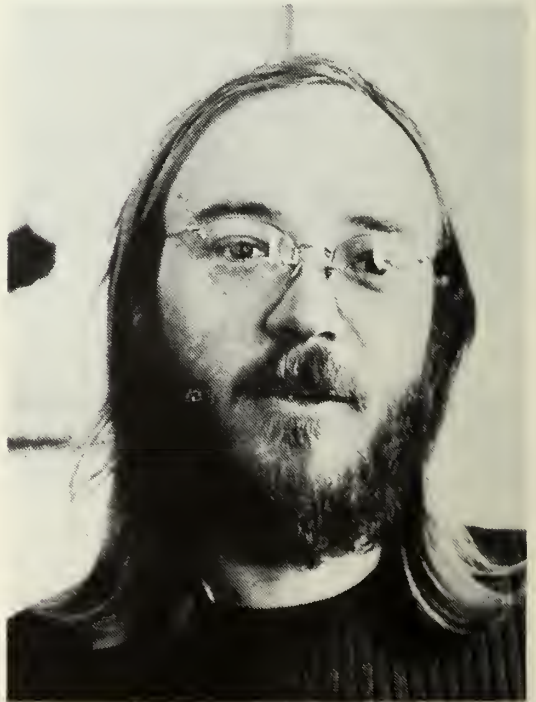
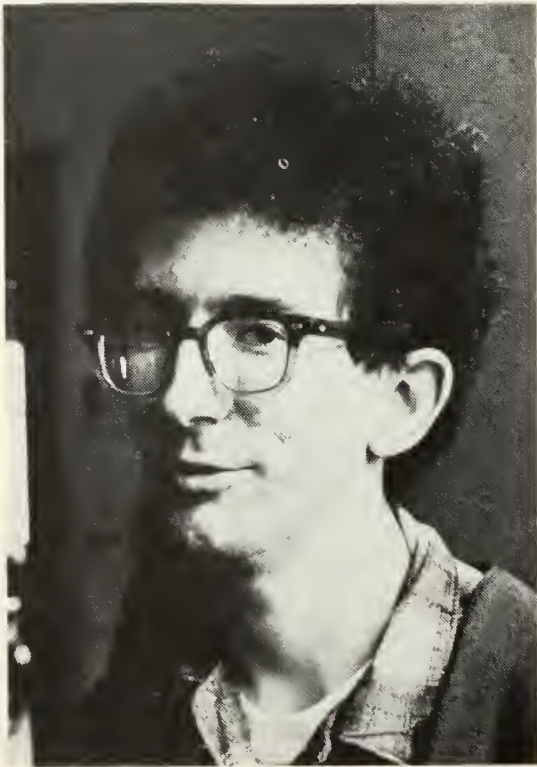
THE PACIFICA PAPERS



LOIS HANSEN, Volunteer

Working at KPFA has meant different things to me at different times during the last year and a half. While I was exclusively a secretary I enjoyed always knowing what was going on in the community, and disliked being considered a non-person by some of the staff. As I have become more involved with the air, the tension on me has increased tremendously, but so have the opportunities to learn and to help increase communication within the feminist community. These two have made me as excited as a child learning to walk and to talk all over again, so I can usually succeed in ignoring the fragmentation and chaos in my life.

WAYNE WAGNER, Engineer



BOB NORTHCOTT, Volunteer

THE PACIFICA PAPERS

STAN JOHNSTON, Engineer and Production Assistant

I've been here about five years and stay here because I believe this radio station has a place in the society and in the Bay Area.

I don't think any one person can say what KPFA should sound like. It's been trying, to the best of its ability, to present what's happening in the Bay Area and in the world in an unbiased way, as clearly as it possibly can, so that people who are listening can make up their own minds.

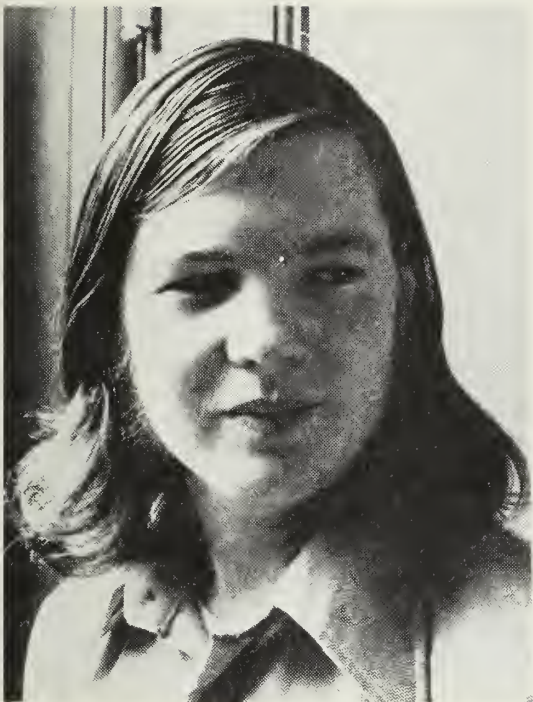
I would say we do this better than anyone else. We hardly ever tell anyone how they should think, or what they should think about anything. We try as best we can to let people decide for themselves, from listening to some of our programs — boring as they may be.

I don't think that anybody who works here has a clear understanding of the structure of the radio station. Perhaps that's a good thing. It's twenty-something-odd years old, and there aren't too many people who know how it works.

Or even why it works.

Maybe we'd be a better radio station if we all had a clear understanding of our purpose and structure.

But then again, maybe not.



JEANETTE FOSTER, Work Study

Working in promotion, I have come across an incredible feeling of support from not only the community, but also from other forms of media. People seem to be aware of our problems at KPFA, and are genuinely concerned. It's good to know that when we need help, our supporters will come through.



ARNIE BROWN, Pacifica Program Service



photographs by Larry Mandella

MARSHA BARTLETT, Subscription Registrar

Being on the air makes it easier for me to deal with my job. Being stuck in a corner keypunching, coding or whatever I was doing, is a real drag. I've been here two and a half years.

I started to resent the air people a lot. It was as though there was this big ego clique. And the rest of us did a lot of the shitwork. That was kind of hard to deal with. I think that what's happening now is that we're starting to work together, instead of opposite directions.

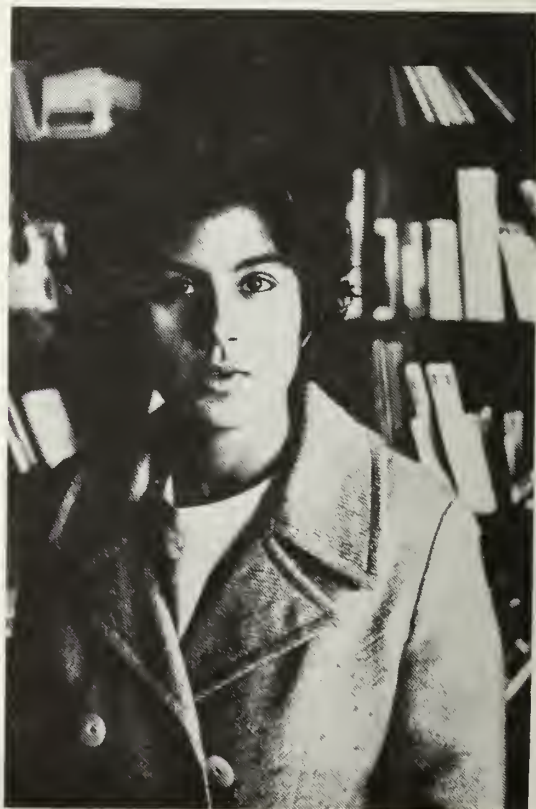
When there are a lot of hassles, I think it comes out over the air, because the energy is being expended in different places, instead of going into the programs, which it should.

I think KPFA should be offering as much information as possible about as many different things as possible, so that people can sit back and make up their own minds about things. And I also think that we should be entertaining. I don't think it should all be heavy rhetoric stuff. I also think that we should be trying to get into the community more. We're doing that now. We didn't for a long time. You know: make it a real, two-way thing, instead of just sitting up here pontificating.



PORTIA SHAPIRO, Volunteer

Working for Pacifica is like working for no other. And that's what makes all the difference.



BOB BERGSTRESSER, Production Assistant

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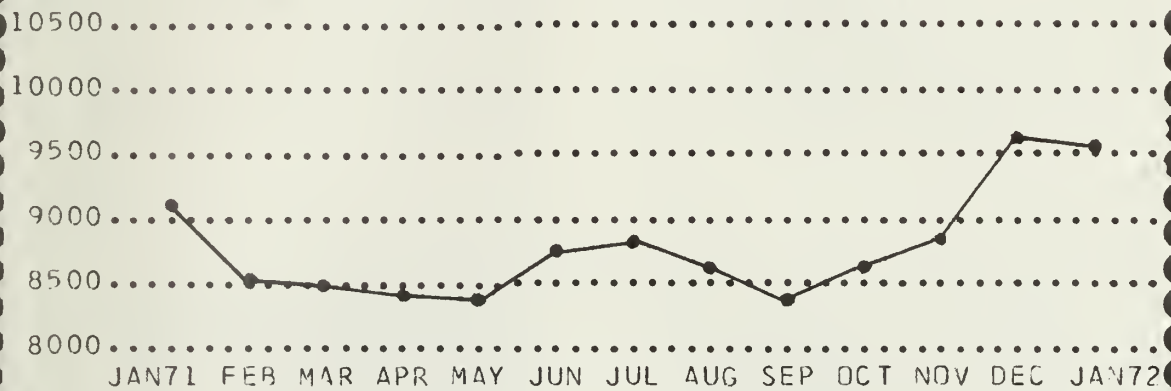
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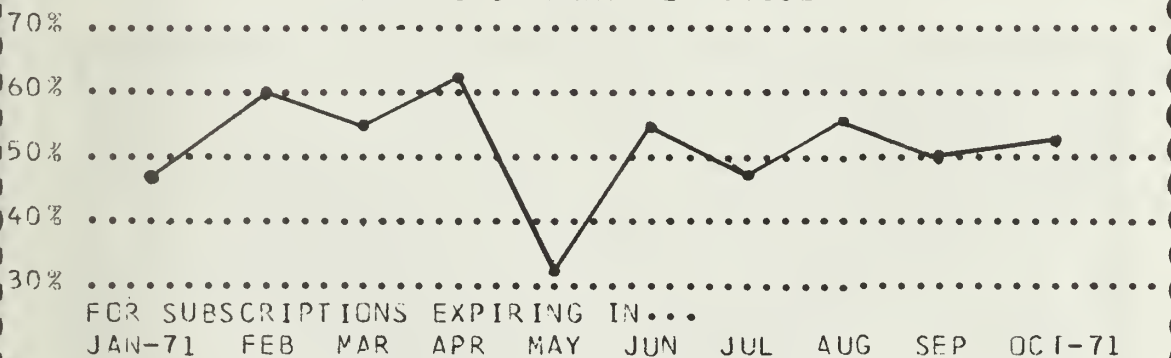
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- MANAGER'S REPORT -

Al Silbowitz

"In a crisis-grow. That's the only creative possibility-take a risk and expand." - Lewis Hill

The two financial charts which appear with this report will be supplemented by a four-year comparative income and expense summary which is being prepared for the March issue of the *Folio*. Rough figures for calendar year 1971 indicate that KPFA spent approximately \$335,000 last year and received approximately \$323,000 in income from subscriptions, renewals, benefit events, and special gifts. The deficit carried over into 1972 is, therefore, approximately \$12,000. To this must be added the previous accumulated deficit and accounts payable brought into 1971. The total deficit figure carried forward with these additions is close to \$50,000.

In addition, the station is carrying long-term indebtedness (made up of one bank loan and two personal loans) equalling \$26,000. The amount of funds on loan to the station has fluctuated over the years, with the loans being used to provide liquidity during short-cash periods.

They have been periodically retired or exchanged for other loans or forgiven as contributions to the station by the lenders.

Thus, the total of KPFA's liabilities as of January 7, 1972, appears in Chart number 1 as nearly \$77,000. We have an additional \$16,372 in various bank accounts as reserves for various station projects which are in progress. Our net cash position can, therefore, be stated as: KPFA is \$60,000 in the red.

While the station's financial situation is not as good as I would like to see it, it is still not especially bad for a charitable organization spending a third of a million dollars annually during a period of tight money and economic contraction. Assuming another \$10,000 of deficit spending for January and February each, KPFA could pay off all of its outstanding liabilities with a successful February Marathon for \$80,000, but it won't.

CHART No. 1

Cash Position as of 1/7/72

Bank Balances:

Savings Accounts	\$16,297.99	
General Checking	<u>74.21</u>	\$16,372.20
Cash on hand to be deposited (includes subscription income thru 12/31/71)		<u>3,258.00</u>
		\$19,630.20
Less Reserves for Bus Fund, Music Fund, and Stereo Matching Fund		<u>15,315.75</u>
TOTAL CASH		<u><u>\$ 4,314.45</u></u>
Pay owing to KPFA staff thru 12/31/71		\$13,338.10
Payroll taxes for 12/31/71		1,389.34
Accounts Payable as of 1/7/72		<u>40,552.59</u>
TOTAL LIABILITIES		\$55,280.03
LESS TOTAL CASH		<u>4,314.45</u>
CASH POSITION AS OF 1/7/72		<u><u>\$50,965.58</u></u>
LONG-TERM INDEBTEDNESS		<u>\$26,000.00</u>
TOTAL LIABILITIES AND LONG-TERM INDEBTEDNESS		<u><u>\$76,965.58</u></u>

THE PACIFICA PAPERS

Fortunately, we don't intend to close our doors and shut down the transmitter at the end of February. Too many listeners depend upon the unique service which KPFA provides. Instead, we plan to do what KPFA has done for the previous 22 years—which is to struggle with the intractable problems of listener-supported, free broadcasting, and to continue to create programs which are valid and affecting documents about life in America and the human condition.

The expense and income flow projections which follow this report are important for

your understanding of this discussion. Please consult them. Chart number 2 (below) is KPFA's monthly expense budget. The station operated at between \$25,000 and \$28,000 per month for the better part of 1971. A full year at the current monthly budget level would cost \$336,000, barring any major disasters or further runaway inflation. As you will recall, this figure is almost exactly what we spent last year to operate KPFA. It is about \$30,000 more per year than is being spent to operate KPFK (in Los Angeles) and a little more than half of what it costs to operate WBAI (in New York.)

CHART No. 2

MONTHLY EXPENSE BUDGET			
SALARIES	\$16,650		
Employer's taxes	1,400		
Kaiser	<u>550</u>	\$18,600	
SUBSCRIPTION SERVICES		500	
PROMOTION ACTIVITIES		400	
FOLIO—net cost after advertising revenue		1,350	
OTHER EXPENSES			
Wire services	270		
Other subscriptions	50		
Tape (raw)	600		
Recordings	100		
Telephone	1,600		
Utilities	600		
Maintenance	300		
Insurance	260		
Rent	375		
Taxes and licenses	40		
Interest and penalties	50		
Bank charges	25		
Legal and audit	100		
Consultant fees	200		
Travel	300		
Work-study	230		
Office supplies	200		
Technical maintenance	600		
Postage	400		
Pacifica Foundation levy	450		
Auto maintenance	50		
Equipment rental	<u>150</u>	6,950	
CONTINGENCIES		<u>200</u>	
TOTAL		<u>\$28,000</u>	

Why then the talk of fiscal crisis at KPFA? Simply because KPFA does not have the number of subscribers necessary to sustain a budget of this size without the help of large "special gifts" or many outside benefits. Pacifica is committed to the concept of listener support; in fact, proved that it could work when the broadcasting industry sneered and jeered. Even if KPFA could sustain its budget with the aid of major transfusions from big money sources, the result would be self-defeating. We don't wish to become plump broadcasting eunuchs beholden, even subtly, to the givers of big money.

The only valid answers for KPFA are "shrink and cut costs" or "increase subscriber-ship." Which brings me to the thoughts behind the quote from Lew Hill which heads this report.

The sick lurches of the national economy last year compounded by a serious decline in subscribership convinced me that KPFA was due for a long-deferred review and overhaul. The station's programming and promotion efforts were just not responsive enough to the times and to listener interest.

We were projecting ourselves as complacent, self-congratulatory, and insulated from the world outside the station. Yes, we did broadcast demonstrations and lectures and we did have the Black Panthers on our air. Yes, we did produce plays and broadcast electronic music. But this was not enough. The medium is at least a part of the message and the way we were presenting our programs was driving listeners away. This, on top of our penchant for exclusivity and elitism was not allowing KPFA to really function as an effective community broadcasting station.

From time to time, though not very frequently in recent years, KPFA has been a major voice in the Bay Area. There is no real competition for what KPFA could and should be. There is a great deal of competition for listeners, however, and this is what the station had refused to contend with.

Though the handwriting on the wall was clear following last year's Marathon—not enough listener interest, not enough subscriber support, not enough money to continue as we were—as Manager, I decided that what we needed was not cut-backs but growth and change. Lew Hill's words were right for individuals in crisis and they were "the only creative possibility" for Pacifica, the organization he had founded.

Right now, we are deep into the process of change at KPFA. Changes have been and

are occurring in programming, in our promotional activities, in staffing, and in structure and relationships at the station. We are seeking to be more open and accessible, more immediate and relevant, more responsive to the flow of events. (My specific recommendations for what KPFA should be doing haven't changed much during the past three years. They may be found spelled out in an interview which I gave to the San Francisco *Express Times* several weeks before I became Manager of KPFA in April of 1969. That article is reprinted elsewhere in this issue for those who care to consult it.)

Change stirs fear and anxiety but it also holds promise. Changes at KPFA involve the participation of all who help operate the station—staff, volunteers, and advisory board members. Listeners are also deeply involved via mail and telephone. We want you to participate through your live phone calls on the air and off and by your candid letters. We are moving and we expect to make mistakes, but we expect to achieve a great deal as well.

Our goal is to bring up subscribership until it supports at least 80% of our annual budget. This means that we need at least 18,000 subscribers. In early fall we succeeded in halting the decline and from September 15, when our new subscriber drive began, through the end of December we achieved a 20% subscriber increase.

At the same time, we are continually reviewing expenditures to find ways to decrease costs without cutting staff or cutting back on necessary station activities. We don't expect it to be at all easy, but our hope should be very clear.

I close this report with a personal footnote. When I took the job as Manager at KPFA it was not a blind or uninformed act. I had been a volunteer in various capacities for six years prior to 1969. I became Manager with the expressed intention of continuing for no more than three years since what KPFA requires and devours is personal energy and commitment. April, 1972, will mark my third anniversary as Manager, and I have informed our Board and the KPFA staff that we must find a new Manager to replace me by May 30, at the latest.

I don't intend to try to evaluate the past three years for you. In many ways I'm deeply dissatisfied with the results and in other ways I'm very pleased. Now it's time for new thinking and fresh responses. The main thing is that KPFA be here and be effective. There are too few institutions like it.

1972 Income Projection

1972 INCOME PROJECTION

	JAN	FEB	MAR	APR	MAY	JUN	
MARATHON	2,000	20,000	40,000	20,000	—	—	
RENEWALS/ BILL-OF-THE-MONTH	9,224	7,992	8,360	12,456	10,056	8,520	
NEW SUBSCRIPTIONS	1,680	—	1,120	2,240	2,240	2,240	
FOLIO ADS	800	800	800	800	800	800	
TOTAL:	13,704	28,792	50,280	35,496	13,096	11,560	
	JUL	AUG	SEP	OCT	NOV	DEC	TOTAL
MARATHON	2,000	2,000	—	—	—	—	86,000
RENEWALS/ BILL-OF-THE-MONTH	7,176	7,496	7,384	10,040	10,456	12,618	111,778
NEW SUBSCRIPTIONS	5,600	5,560	2,240	3,360	4,480	1,680	32,480
FOLIO ADS	800	800	800	800	800	800	9,600
TOTAL:	15,576	15,896	10,424	14,200	15,736	15,098	239,858

In December, as a baseline for staff discussion on austerity proposals, subscriptions registrar Marsha Bartlett and program director Larry Lee published the following income projection for KPFA.

Although Pacifica's written procedures call for submission of budgets through local boards to national board for review and ratification, the process is not followed. WBAI came quite close this year, and the national board minority on the Houston advisory board have claimed their budget powers as a way of controlling the manager installed there by last fall's staff strike.

The \$28,000 budget on page 55 is a highly accurate description of KPFA's current costs; the salary item is the only important variable.

The income projection is a conservative guess at the other side of the ledger. Missing from it are two major elements. First, "special gifts,"

our euphemism for rich people's money; we got some \$45,000 this way in calendar 1971. Second, special events. For example, our December Crafts Fairs, which earned \$6,000 net in 1971.

It is unlikely that these two sources, even taken with severe austerity measures, can cover the loss projected in the cash flow which concludes this section.

Here is a line-by-line analysis of 1972 income sources.

1. Marathon

This line shows all income from non-stop, on-the-air fund raising. The \$2,000 listed in January reflects final collection of pledges from last November's \$27,000 Stopgap drive; the remaining uncollected funds are logged as Bill-of-the-Month Club income or failed pledges.

The \$80,000 spread across February, March and April reflects collections from the \$115,000—goal February Marathon. It is assumed that at least \$15,000 of the pledged amount

will not be collected. This is usual. In previous years, KPFA has discounted pledges before the tally is announced on the air. This year, we're being up front about it, and about the failure rate. The other \$20,000 in February Marathon income is spread in the Bill-of-the-Month Club line below.

The \$2,000 logged under "marathon" in July and August reflects anticipated gifts from present subscribers, or gifts in dollar amounts less than subscription rates, resulting from a midsummer drive to be staged between coverage of the two national political party conventions.

2. Renewals and Bill-of-the-Month Club

Each item on this line reflects \$3,000 projected monthly income from Bill-of-the-Month Club, calculated on stability of club membership at 600; the present figure is 648.

The station will de-emphasize annual renewal in club publicity from now on, hoping that those who join will regard the pledge as continuing. We are discussing utilizing premiums, such as gifts of art, to maintain levels in this special category.

The other element in the items on this line is our monthly projection of renewals income. We got it by stating present subs in force and present renewal experience, as measured over the thirteen months ending in December, 1971. The January, 1972, figure, for example, was reached by multiplying the actual number of January, 1971, renewals times \$16.00, which is slightly lower than the actual present average renewal gift.

The percentage of expiring subscriptions renewed climbed slightly in 1971, but mailing-house problems and program changes may have caused it to decline in the last quarter of last year. Because many people renew only after their second or third notice, reporting is slow and, inevitably, screwed up by marathon-like activity (such as Stopgap, Fall Offensive or the present Marathon).

This year's Marathon happens in a normally-high renewal month, in effect stranding the large number of renewals created by the pre-

ceding string of May marathons. Maintenance of the May bump is a prime problem for KPFA this year, since many of last year's marathon contributors are likely to make their annual gift in February and reject renewal solicitation three months later.

The figures for the last quarter, 1972, reflect the large number of new subscriptions we got in last quarter, 1971. However, renewal is projected at 30 per cent, due to the marathon-like nature of their acquisition.

Many listeners concerned with KPFA's financial stability are disheartened by what they consider a low renewal rate. A 50 per cent turn-over is the prevailing average at all four stations, now and always. We haven't kept computer records long enough or well enough to identify the continuously-subscribing core group, but we think they account for a fifth or less of subscriptions in force. We do know, as a result of a 1968 survey paid for by the Ford Foundation, that listeners outnumber subscribers by five to one, or more.

Thus, KPFA's prime financial problem is the huge number of non-subscribing listeners. There appears to be a general belief on the part of these people that the station has rich sources of income, or that one need not subscribe unless one listens almost continuously, or is pleased whenever one does listen.

3. New Subscriptions

KPFA presently has 9,600 subscriptions, and may surpass 11,000 in force at some point this year. However, counting on the present renewal rate, we'll close the year with fewer than 9,000. Further, the average first-year gift has declined to \$14.25, meaning that the overwhelming majority of new subscribers claim the student-retired-unemployed rate.

At a recent meeting with angry subscribers, station workers were chastised for the low subscriber number as well as the increasing frequency and intensity of subscription pitching.

There will be even more pitching in 1972—just for KPFA to stand still. There is considerable internal criticism at the station about the quality of our pitches. Sometimes they're absent for long stretches by design, as just after

THE PACIFICA PAPERS

CASH FLOW 1972

	JAN	FEB	MAR	APR	MAY	JUN
INCOME	13,704	28,792	50,280	35,496	13,096	11,560
EXPENDITURE	<u>28,000</u>	<u>28,000</u>	<u>28,000</u>	<u>28,000</u>	<u>28,000</u>	<u>28,000</u>
DEFICIT	[14,296]	792	22,280	7,496	[15,096]	[16,440]
ACCUMULATED DEFICIT	76,296	75,504	53,224	45,728	60,824	77,264
	JUL	AUG	SEP	OCT	NOV	DEC
INCOME	15,576	15,896	10,424	14,200	15,736	12,618
EXPENDITURE	<u>28,000</u>	<u>28,000</u>	<u>28,000</u>	<u>28,000</u>	<u>28,000</u>	<u>28,000</u>
DEFICIT	[12,424]	[12,104]	[17,576]	[13,800]	[12,264]	[15,382]
ACCUMULATED DEFICIT	89,688	101,792	119,368	133,168	145,432	160,814

a marathon. At other times, they're not there simply because the board operators don't remember or care to do them.

We're working hard on subscription consciousness, in order, frankly, to save our jobs and the station's work. The projections on this line are rather conservative. To give you an idea of how the months will sound, in terms of pitching, last October was a month with a 600-sub goal and last month, January, was a 250-sub month.

If the Marathon should fail, or austerity measures be rejected, the new sub pitches will increase in frequency and intended quality. We're unapologetic about this, since, if fewer than a quarter of the regular listeners subscribed, the station would be a zero-deficit operation.

4. FOLIO Advertising

This magazine is KPFA's only present premium. We have worked over the past six months to improve its design and content, and now are setting out to reduce its effective cost to zero, a goal we will reach when advertising covers all production costs, including the editor's salary and the ad salesman's commission.

We're trying now to secure national advertising contracts, which should help; the FOLIOS at KPFA and KPFT also accept advertising, but our New York station rejects it as a source of income.

In keeping with the conservatism of this income projection, the figures here are based principally upon 1971 experience and a discounting away of trade-outs, ads which result in ads for us, or in goods and services which cannot be logged into a cash flow.

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